



QAEDE AZAM

A politician to his finger-tips

—Mr. SATYAMURTHI

MEET MR. JINNAH

A. A. RAVOOF

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PREFACE

MR. MOHAMED ALI JINNAH is the most discussed man in Indian politics today. One may decry his theories, may disagree with his views and may even dislike his politics, but certainly cannot ignore him. Critics call him "A progressive turned communalist," "damaged Arch-angel", "fanatic", "feuhrer", "agent of British Imperialism" and what not. But he is none of these. He is even today as much a patriot as anyone in the Congress camp. But Congressmen have a way of their own—of monopolizing the patriotism and the love of the country for themselves.

Leading the Indian Muslims is no ordinary task. Being a martial race, their estimate of leadership lies far beyond money and gift of the gab. Sincerity of character, tenacity of purpose and readiness to sacrifice are according to them the chief qualifications of their leader. And that was why only a few could claim and command an All-India leadership. Muslim leaders there were but their range of influence was either confined or

short-lived. It was left to the shrewd statesmanship of Mr. Jinnah to secure a countrywide leadership as well as the undisputed loyalty of Muslims from the Himalayas down to Cape Comorin and from Karachi to Assam. The secret of his success lies in the fact that not only he satisfies all the qualifications required but has many conspicuous virtues in addition.

Wherever he was, in the Congress or in the Home Rule League, his position was respectfully reserved and that always in the fore-front. That is because he has the unique talent of organising and giving fresh strength and impetus to the Movement he joins. Today he is hailed as the Messiah, the Qaede Azam, accorded right royal receptions, taken in miles-long processions and welcomed with aeroplanes flying above his head and raining petals of roses over him. Never before did Muslim India express their love and regard so grandly and so spontaneously. They believe that he is their man of destiny and they have entrusted their interests into his hands without any mental reservation.

I have no special qualifications to write this book. The one thing that prompted me to take up the task is the great love I bear for this dynamic personality who within the brief period of half a decade, worked a miracle, made a nation out of a crowd, put the Muslims on their feet, inspired them as never before, gave them a flag, a platform and a definite goal. His was a magic touch. For the

solid bloc that is Muslim India today the credit in full must go to the Qaede Azam. In fact a standard biography of Mr. Jinnah was a long-felt want, if for nothing else, at least to counteract the lies that are being cooked up and dished out by the Congress press. I wished, waited and prayed that some one—more able than humble self—would undertake the job. But none came forward. In this, I have not followed any established rules of biography-writing. My approach to the subject is mine own. I take all the blame. If there is any credit, I take that too. In the following pages I have faithfully tried to portray Mr. Jinnah as I understand him and as the Muslim youth understands him. For materials I have tapped many a source. I wrote to Mr. Jinnah's close collaborators; some of them were kind enough to help me. I consulted a number of books, waded through several newspaper articles, statements, interviews, appreciations, and cameos both from the pen of his admirers as well as his adversaries. In fact I have tried my best. But I can't claim this biography to be exhaustive. There is a good deal about Mr. Jinnah's person that is unknown. His private life is his own—except to friends and near relatives, it is a mere handful of conjectures. But Mr. Jinnah the politician is a world-figure and his name is a household word throughout the length and breadth of this country. Muslims rightly consider him as their political Messiah and feel that just as in the

hour of direst need Britain found her Churchill,
Muslim India have found their Jinnah

I must respectfully thank the Qade Azam and his sister for having kindly agreed to pose for two photographs to adorn this book. My thanks are also due to Mr. Ahmed Basha for the pain he took in securing some photos and blocks for me. And I must also express my gratitude to the Management of the *Deccan Times* for having placed a number of their photos and blocks at my disposal for the purposes of illustrating this life sketch. I am also indebted to the circle of my close friends who encouraged and assisted me in bringing out this book.

Madras }
May 1, 1944 }

A. A. RAVOOR

1

DAWN

TO GET AT Mr. Mohamed Ali Jinnah's date of birth, we must go back to the Christmas Day of the year 1876. It was a Sunday and in any Christian family the birth of a child on such an auspicious day would have been acclaimed as a special gift from God and the child pet-named "the Christmas Babe". But the child of our biography was born in a very rich business-running Muslim family in Karachi. Though he was not given the name "Christmas Babe" at the time of his birth, the child was really considered as a special gift from God. That child brought happiness with its advent to the family and its parents in particular.

We can very well say that he was born with a silver spoon in his mouth. Had his father and elders decided for him a career as their own, we would have had, in all probability, lost our Jinnah. They say that Providence has a hand in shaping the destinies of nations. Fortunately for the Muslims of India, Mr. Jinnah's elders chose for him an altogether different walk of life and in his

very childhood decided to train him up in the legal line.

Being the eldest son, he was brought up under sweet luxury and rich affluence of a big home; and was easily the pet child of the whole family. What he wanted, he got and nothing was refused. As a result of these extraordinary attentions paid to him any one could have very easily turned a spoilt child; but Mr. Jinnah, even as a child, had a very good taste and love for books.

As is customary with every Muslim child, Mr. Jinnah, when very young, was admitted into the local *Madressah*, where he learnt the Holy Quran, the A.B.C. of Islamic theology and the three R's. Soon he left the *Madressah* and joined the Mission School at Karachi where he did his Matriculation.

After this, Mr. Jinnah was sent to England to study for the Bar in the year 1892. He was hardly sixteen then and even at that period he did not go unnoticed. There is a picturesque portrait in words about this brilliant youngster—"that tall thin boy in a funny long yellow coat". Though he has managed to remain "tall and thin", none dare call his clothes as "funny" any longer; for, it is agreed on all hands that he is the best dressed man in India today. And a long train of Viceroy's from Hardinge down to Willingdon vouchsafed to this, paid tributes to his sartorial taste and admired him as the best dressed gentleman they ever met in India.

He joined the Lincoln's Inn and in the year 1896, when he was just twenty, was called to the Bar.

While in England, his life was marked for diligence, discipline and deep study. Like the many Indian students he was not after vain pursuits and was never a "problem tenant". He led a life of high dignity and absolute self-respect which can very easily be the model for every Indian student residing in England. He did not go astray. He knew that he had gone there to study and not on excursion or on a holiday trip. In those days the ground was rather slippery for the Indian in England and it must be said to the credit of steadfast Jinnah that he was lure-proof and beyond all temptations.

At a period when most students were apt to be self-centred, Mr. Jinnah was sensitive and to his pain and dismay, he found that Indian students were aloof from one another and even when they met, they did so as strangers. This set him thinking and he sincerely felt that only an Indian students' organisation could bring the Indian young men together.

As a student, he could do no more; but took an oath that when he would have collected enough influence he would set matters aright. This he did when he paid his second visit to England again in 1913. But during his stay as a student he did this much with success; he missed

no opportunity whenever possible to come in close contact with other students from various parts of India.

After about four years' stay in England, Mr. Jinnah returned to India, a finished product. Meanwhile, there had been some reverses in the business dealings of his elders and when he reached home, he found his family sunk in great pecuniary difficulties. He was denied the enthusiastic welcome of a luxurious home and the easy affluence in which he had lived was a thing of the past. Grim realities of life stared him in the face and he had to struggle for a living. Not only had he to stand on his own legs but the heavy responsibility of supporting an entire family fell on his young and inexperienced shoulders. To one who had not known what it was to be in want all his life, when poverty overtook him all on a sudden, he found it shocking and at the same time severe. Any other man would have lost his self-confidence or become desperate but Mr. Jinnah took it as a sportsman. While at Karachi, he expressed a desire to work as a junior with the late Mr. Harchandrai Vishandas, a famous pleader of the city. But not being encouraged, he went over to Bombay in about 1902. Now the whole world lay before him and the young barrister Mr. Jinnah had to fight his way through somehow during the lean years at the Bar.

2

ADVOCATE OF TRUTH

LAW IS IN Mr. Jinnah's life-blood. The choice of the legal profession was his own. But the beginning was full of uphill and down dales, obstacles and obstructions. Mr. Jinnah like a brave soldier fought his battle of life and as a true Muslim he never despaired. Soon fortune was knocking at his door. An old friend of his family, seeing the great talent and the abundant ability which Mr. Jinnah possessed, with his influence, introduced the young barrister to one Mr. Macpherson, the then acting Advocate General of Bombay. The kind Advocate received Mr. Jinnah with open arms and what more, extended to the young lawyer the rare privilege of utilising his library and reading in his Chambers—in those days an unique and an unprecedented thing for an European barrister to do! When Mr. Jinnah was thus engaged, he had no credentials except that he was a young Muslim lawyer who had just returned from England. He very much impressed Mr. Dadabhoy Navroji who employed him as his private secretary. Mr. Jinnah's talent and genius attracted the attention of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta

who possessed the knack of recognising merit wherever it was found and of making the best out of it. Sir Pheroze took him into his party.

Now Mr. Jinnah's life turned a new leaf. The opportunities for which he was waiting were given to him. Briefs came to him every now and then. He well knew how to put two and two together. He was a brilliant beginner with a great promise as a lawyer. He studied his cases to the minutest detail and employed the force of his eloquence to do the rest. Soon he was mounting up the ladder, rung by rung and the great reputation for legal knowledge and powerful advocacy was hastening towards him with greater acceleration than he had expected. Day by day his star was on the ascendency and gradually Mr. Jinnah rose to power and to a leader's position at the Bar. The strongest proofs of his genius are his achievements and the reputation he had earned in a very short time. Hardly few lawyers could have had such a rapid rise to fame and this speaks volumes about Mr. Jinnah's capabilities. He became a full-fledged lawyer while many of his age were praying for briefs to come. He was enrolled as an advocate in 1906. And today Mr. Jinnah's position is at the top and at the Bombay Bar, he occupies an envied position and commands a very extensive and lucrative practice.

This shows the man and the mettle he is made of. Even from the beginning Mr. Jinnah had a

very great taste for law. He had made it a point to endeavour, persevere and achieve perfection in any work he undertook. Law being his profession he devoted his full time, attention and energy to it. Book after book was skimmed through, with the result that now he is considered as a very able and powerful advocate, and is universally respected as an authority on questions of law.

The less informed men of his profession often seek his advice on problems of law. His mastery over legal knowledge came into prominence when he argued in the debate on the transfer of Ships Restrictions Bill. Since then whenever in the old Imperial Council and in the new Legislative Assembly, questions of law were raised, it was a pleasure to hear Mr. Jinnah, who always, wherever he be, invariably commanded a respectful hearing.

It is a grand sight to watch him in a court room arguing a case. Few lawyers can boast of more attentive audience. Advocates say that it is a treat to hear Mr. Jinnah argue and win a case. A great colleague of his once confided: "I don't know how he does it. But he wins many weak cases". In the remarkable way of arguing a case and getting down to the bare bones of a brief, there is hardly anyone to rival him. The marshalling of arguments and the masterly way of presenting them in quick succession are his own and if a lawyer is to be judged by the achievement of maximum result with the minimum of

effort, the prize should go to Mr. Jinnah. For, when he rises to speak, the court room assumes an atmosphere of pin-drop silence. He is generally in his fighting moods. His voice usually has a small volume and his half-whispered accents cast a strange spell over the whole audience. It has been seen in court rooms that Mr. Jinnah, while arguing criminal cases, had many a time exhibited his talents for acting. Juniors crane their necks to watch his movement and actions. The opposing counsel follows his case with perfect attention; not to speak of the judge who closely studies his arguments. Though Mr. Jinnah's words are for the most part slightly inaudible, when required his voice can acquire a thunderous roar and this is noted only when the inevitable happens—an interruption! If Mr. Jinnah cannot tolerate one thing, it is interruption when in the thick of a debate or a speech. He does not allow his interruptor to go scot-free; he stings him with the venom of his tongue. He aims his words as shrewdly as an able archer his arrow. Few have survived the smashing hits of his verbal offensive!

In law-courts, where he is the champion of his client, he is also the terror for his opposing counsel. He wields a very great influence in courts. Personal magnetism is an asset to Mr. Jinnah and he can utilise it to the maximum extent with tact and effect. He has established a reputation in the legal line by his rapier-like thrusts and in fact his career at the bar is full of

thrills, adventures, and smashing hits hurled at witnesses, defending counsels and judges as well. As an advocate there is none to match him; he prepares himself for the most serious ordeals; can remain unruffled under the worst circumstances. No lawyer dare cross swords with him and no judge dare bully him. His ready wit has saved many a situation and his crushing retorts have silenced many a proud judge. He personally tolerates no overtures on his person and can never brook any insult.

To quote just one example, Mr. Jinnah brought to senses a British civilian judge, who was notorious for his mad fury. Counsels and junior practitioners used to shiver at his name. And it was before such a judge that Mr. Jinnah once happened to argue a case. In a flash of fury, the judge, in wounded arrogance, remarked: "Mr. Jinnah, you must not forget that you are not arguing before the sub-ordinate judge of a lower court." While other counsels quaked and litigants were shivering in their shoes, Mr. Jinnah—noted for his smashing retorts—shot at the judge: "There is not a third class counsel before your lordship either". This made the judge angry but he could do nothing but hold his tongue.

There was another instance when the storm burst and this time the recipient of the blow was a Parsi. When Sir Dinshaw Dawar began to deliver a small sermon on the duties of lawyers on an

occasion when his son Mr. Jehangir Dawar and Mr. Jinnah, who represented the parties, appeared late in a case before him, Mr. Jinnah gave a specimen of his outspokenness to Sir Dinshaw Dawar by saying: "Sir, please confine this lecture to your son whose arrogance was responsible for this delay and do not try to address it to a lawyer who is practising for the last 25 years and is well aware of his duties as a lawyer".

The natural cast of his mind is to achieve success by least labour, by dint of his courage and by his pushing and fighting disposition. Not being indebted to any one either in public or private life, his demeanour of keeping his head erect adds to his personal dignity.

Even as a lawyer he is incorruptible. He will never stoop to conquer—grabbing is not in his nature. While it is the weakness of many advocates to fall easy victims to filthy lucre, Mr. Jinnah is temptation-proof and will not claim a single pie more than his due. Neither will he use his profession for a wrong cause. He is the greatest champion of truth. Once he spurned the weak briefs of a big Maharaja by saying: "I am a lawyer and not a tout". His position at the Bar is dignified and proud. He is frank and toadying is unknown to him.

He is an embodiment of the highest standards of the legal profession. During the early years of

invite him to be a party to such mean and ungentlemanly plot. The fact is Mr. Jinnah likes no hush-hush affair and will be the last man to stoop down to do harm to another person.

The recent assault on Mr. Jinnah by one Babar Azamgani brought still more facts about Mr. Jinnah as a lawyer. It was probably the first time that Mr. Jinnah appeared before a Court as a complainant. The accused who was reported to be a Muslim and Khaksar went on denying all the allegations and dubbing the case as a trumped up one. But the evidence of those eye witnesses who saw him attack Mr. Jinnah gave lie to his statement. While Mr. Jinnah's secretary and chauffeur disproved the assailant's concoctions, a knife-grinder of Bombay deposed that the accused had brought to him a clasp-knife, a day prior to the day of assault, to have it further sharpened. And Mr. Jinnah, giving his own evidence in Court, used his usual talent for acting. Dramatising the whole assault, he impressed upon the judge and the jury, by gestures and actions and vivid and picturesque description of every move and detail as it behaved an expounded and seasoned lawyer. The result was the accused was found guilty and awarded five years' rigorous. Securely locked up behind the bars of a prison house, Babar is doing his term for having taken arms against one of the foremost leaders of India and Indian Muslims' greatest advocate.

STUDENTS' "BEAU-IDEAL."

MR. JINNAH is the "Beau-ideal" of Muslim youths in the country. Among youths none attract his attention more than the students. He has built high hopes on these young men and feels that when politicians like him would have fought and achieved freedom, it will be the responsibility of youths to preserve it.

His interest in Indian students is as old as this century—in fact even more than that. During his student days in London, Mr. Jinnah was very much anxious about the Indian students. He never forgot them during his annual visits thereafter. He was amazed at the way Indian students behaved and could not comprehend how students belonging to the same country met as strangers on the foreign soil as if there was nothing of common interest to them. What made him seriously think about it and regret the strange behaviour all the more was that students from India were the pick of the youths and it was they who could make or unmake the future history

of India and as such much was expected of them. He determined to organise them, weld them into one unit and make them realise the heavy responsibilities that awaited them when they returned. As a shrewd statesman, who always looks two or three decades ahead, Mr. Jinnah foresaw the role the Indian student had to play in fighting for his constitutional rights and his legitimate place under the sun. Events have justified Mr. Jinnah's pre-thought-out move and students returning to India not only took part in politics but crowded into the Council and Legislature to constitutionally agitate for their reasonable rights. During April 1913, Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gokhale left for a long holiday in England. But to an active soul like Mr. Jinnah's where was time for making merry? The problems of his country loomed large before his eyes and he utilized his time in planning many way-outs. His restless soul could not remain idle, could not find pleasure in holidaying. As very much interested in Indian students in England he endeavoured day and night and founded the London Indian Association. He took objections to the various restrictions laid on the Indian students and vigorously fought for their removal. In addition to these, he also made a close study of the working of the India Council. This preliminary observation was of great help to him when again he visited England in 1914 as a member of the Congress Deputation in connexion with the reform of the India Council.

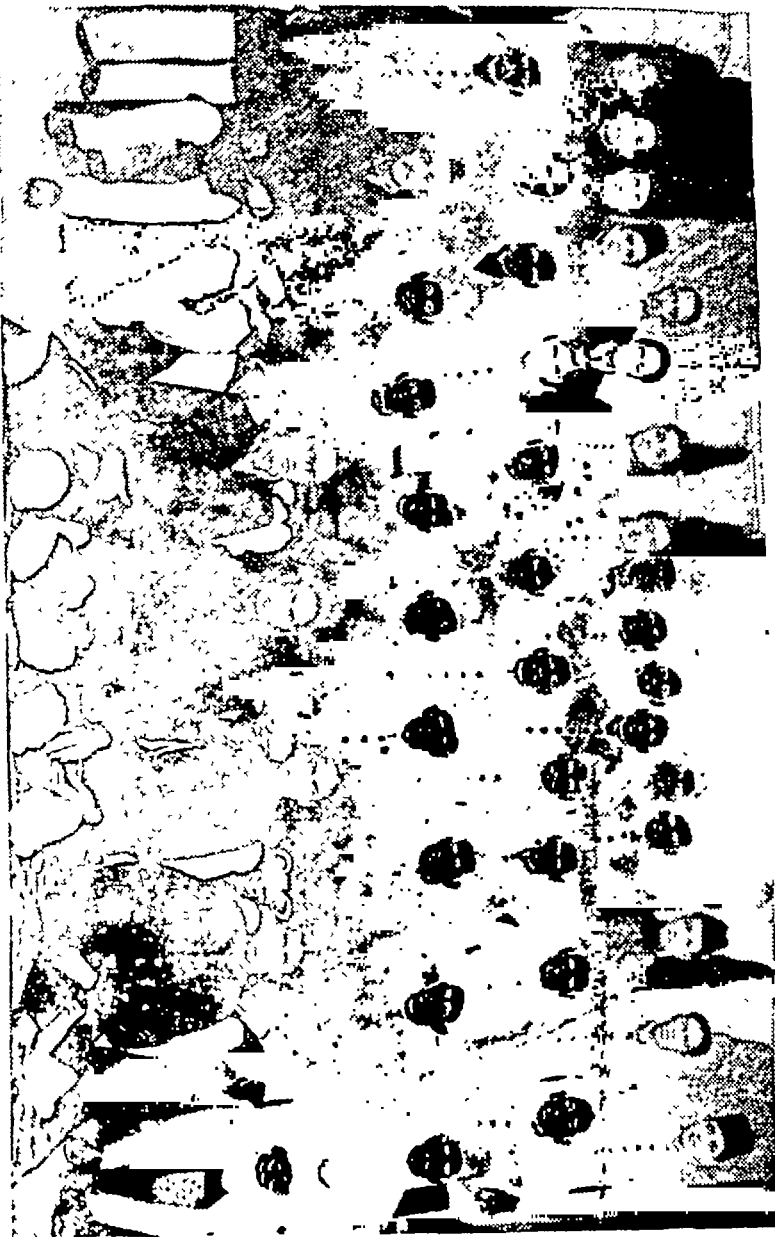
Then Mr. Jinnah tried his best to serve the student population in varied ways. He could not bear to see the contempt with which the Indian students were looked at and fought for the removal of restrictions on admission which English education centres imposed on Indian students. He took a prominent part in the agitation for simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service; he fought for and obtained new openings for educated Indians; and he welcomed the Indian Defence Force Bill on this account.

To revert back to the subject, Mr. Jinnah endeavoured, persevered, took pains and left no stone unturned to achieve his object in view of the public good and in a speech at a public meeting held on 28th June 1913, at the Caxton Hall, London, he pleaded for the establishment of a London Indian Association with the following objects :

"To maintain and foster unity and to strengthen and encourage friendship between the Indian students in the United Kingdom by providing various opportunities for social intercourse and interchange of thoughts and ideas by holding debates and discussions on various subjects of interest, social gatherings and by acquiring a club house; provided that this association does not take any part in actual and administrative politics".

Making this proposal Mr Jinnah, in the course of his speech, laid emphasis on the need of a central association to cast off the exclusiveness and aloofness among students which were the outcome of having many different clubs and societies. He proceeded —

“The position of the Indian students in this country is one without a parallel. The Indian student class is typically representative of the best the country can produce. They are, so to speak, the custodians of the reputation of India. Unfortunately just now, so far as the British public is concerned, they have not a good name. Instead of conducting themselves merely as students and learning all they can of the civilization which the British people had taken centuries to build up they are tempted to use strong language in political questions. I will remind you that you are scarcely competent as yet to deal with the political problems presented by our country. Nobody appreciates more than I do the honesty of purpose or the patriotism which has induced you to do what you have done, but it is time that you seriously consider your position. You might ask me what the proposed association is going to do. We are going to develop the opportunities for a wider national outlook. Today, in India, the men who are taking the most active part in politics are men who were



Qade Azam with Members of the Aligarh Branch of the Muslim Youths' Majlis.

*"He is a champion of the Students. He finds the greatest pleasure
nowhere except amidst them."*



educated in England and have returned home to serve our country. By all means mix with the English people and make friends among them. But make it your first duty while you are here to meet and understand your own countrymen. It is your presence in England that gives you an opportunity of coming in contact with others from all parts of India".

Concluding, he stressed on the students observing a high code of honour and morality, adding :

"That they should abandon strong language and hysterical ideas and become earnest workers and serious thinkers and that they must give the Government no cause to take precautionary measures and when they go back home they must become great missionaries in the cause of progress".

Without the least doubt and without any fear of contradiction it can be said that Mr. Jinnah, as long as he was a student in London, neither trespassed the limit nor violated the principles but followed a very disciplined life which later on he laid down as a perfect pattern for the guidance of the Indian students.

Mr. Jinnah's love towards students is deep-rooted and his interest in them began as a matter of fact from the time he was himself a student in England. He always found pleasure

addressing the students and giving them probable and valuable advice. He knew for certain that as students are going to mould the future of a nation, much could be expected only from them. In 1921, he delivered the inaugural address of the Bombay Muslim Students' Union, where he laid special emphasis on discipline and on self-reliance. He made a remarkable speech in terms which greatly influenced the youthful hearts of students. In the course of his address he said:

"Then again one of your chief objects should always be co-operation, unity and good-will not only among the different sections of Muslims but also between the Muslims and other communities of this country. As citizens, you will have to share the burden of work, when your students days are over, with other communities, and it will be therefore better if you start at the earliest possible opportunity to try to understand the other communities; that will be the surest way of progress in this country. There is one thing which must be realised by every thinking person as essential. If progress is to be made it will not be by dissensions. Unity is absolutely essential to progress".

He was very much opposed to students taking active part in politics but advised them to be always in touch with politics and to take interest and understand it; for, in India, politics had

become the mainstay of the people and it was therefore no use shutting their eyes to it!

Mr. Jinnah had great affection for the students and would willingly do anything for them. The students invited him to preside over the All-India Students' Conference at Lucknow on August 13, 1936. He knew that his political adversary, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress President, would open the Conference. But Mr. Jinnah is a perfect gentleman and does not allow his friendly relationship to be stiffened by political differences. He agreed. Thus the two J's of Indian politics met on one platform. Rather the students brought this about.

In his presidential address Mr. Jinnah asked the students to cultivate fellow-feeling, show toleration and develop brotherhood, which according to him was the only solution of the problem confronting the country. Continuing, he said, he agreed with Pandit Nehru's views that students should not indulge in aggressive politics but must keep abreast of the international problems as they were the architects of the New Age. Regarding the communal question, he observed, it would exist till religion remained. Mr. Jinnah added they should not indulge in preaching idealism which accentuated differences and regretted the lack of a common platform where the best minds of all communities could meet to solve the country's problems.

Even today Mr. Jinnah is most popular among students. Only one reason can be attributed to this. Mr. Jinnah, in spite of his years, in spite of the wrinkles on his face, in spite of his thin, emaciated form, in spite of heavy responsibilities, is still a youth at heart. Time had been kind to him and sixty-six summers have sat on him lightly. He has the bearing of a youth, the gait of a gallant and the air of an optimist. His unflinching determination, tenacity of purpose and iron will have endeared him to the youth. Just like a boy of twenty, he is very active and his diary is full four weeks ahead. The Muslim youths believe that in his hands their interests are always safe. He has manners that are inspiring and an enthusiasm that is arresting. By sheer force of personality he can win over anyone.

There is a very interesting anecdote told of his youthful zeal which simply bewildered the students. In December 1937, there was the annual session of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation and Mr. Jinnah was the President. When the session adjourned for dinner at 8 p.m., there was some dispute about the next session. Most of the students were against a night sitting especially because it was cold and chill wind was blowing. But the Qaed-e-Azam put an end to all discussions saying: "I will be here at 9-30 p.m. I am older than you in age, but younger in spirit".

He has special regard for students and nothing gives him greater pleasure than addressing them. Almost every year he has visited Aligarh and during his sojourn in October 1942 he has said: "I visit you every year and I have adopted the role of a reporter". To the students he speaks with great regard but there is not a single instance when he tried to drag them into active politics. He has inspired them with a thousand messages, exhorted them to cultivate toleration and mutual respect and esteem. Addressing the Muslim Youths' Majlis branch at Aligarh he told some home-truths to them:

"Try your level best to learn the sense of responsibility and duty. Build up your character, that is more than all the degrees. All degrees and no character is more waste of time. You should also develop the sense of honour, integrity and duty. We are not a bit inferior to any other nation. We have simply neglected to develop these qualities which we could. Believe me the day these qualities are fully developed, your home—Pakistan—is yours".

He is a friend of Muslim students; he finds the greatest pleasure nowhere except amidst them. For youths he is a perfect model of sincerity and integrity. There are other traits in his character which every one may well copy.

Mr. JINNAH'S second marriage was all romance. Bartolot Jinnah, who was at the summit of fame during the Lucknow Pact days, met beautiful Miss Ratan Bai Petit, Sir Din Shah Petit, the Parsi magnate's daughter and captured her heart. No mean catch was this, for Miss Petit was ~~both~~ ^{not only} a big fortune, ~~Mr. Jinnah got thirty lakhs in dowry and above an educated and well-accomplished~~ ^{bride.} The Parsi community showed no liking for this match; that was because they did not like her embracing Islam to become Mr. Jinnah's wife. But the girl bundled up caste and creed restrictions and flinging them into the Arabian sea, got married to Mr. Jinnah. This apostasy had created a sensation and the matters had gone from the police court to the High Court as the Parsi community were determined to move the heavy machinery of law against the newly-weds. Rather an unusual honey-moon, isn't it? But the whole world loves the lovers and the romantic couple commanded general sympathy and the case was withdrawn.

ROMANCE

This romantic episode pales into insignificance when we see the true religious fervour and steadfastness which Mr. Jinnah exhibited on the eve of the marriage. He could have easily gone through a civil marriage by registration according to the Special Marriages Act, as Mr. Asaf Ali, Mr. Humayun Kabir and scores of others did. That would not have caused the tension in the Parsi community. But Mr. Jinnah insisted that the proposed bride must first embrace Islam which she did with all her heart. It was in 1919, when Miss Ratan Bai was just eighteen. In all this Mr. Jinnah acted with characteristic boldness and dash. He had received a number of letters threatening his life. But he ignored them all and with half a dozen friends and a Qazi, both the conversion and marriage ceremonies were solemnized in his chamber.

Their happy married life was cut short when Mrs. Jinnah passed away in her prime of life in 1929. Born of this union was an only daughter, Miss Dina Jinnah, who in 1939 married a Parsi young man. It looked as if the Parsi community which lost a daughter in Mrs. Jinnah got back one in Miss Dina. As long as Ratan Bai lived, she was a tower of strength to Mr. Jinnah and a comrade in arms. She waged many a political battle alongside her husband and in that famous Town Hall episode, when demonstrators singing the praise of Willingdonian administration in Bombay, were

routed by doughty Jimnah, in capturing and
 slaying volunteers, Mr. Jimnah proved that she was
 the valiant wife of a valiant husband.
 It is not widely known that Mr. Jimnah's first
 marriage was celebrated when he was a young
 boy, long before he went to England; but
 unfortunately it was destined to be a failure.

"A tower of strength and a comrade in arms."

Late Mrs. RATAN BAI JINNAH



PARLIAMENTARIAN OF GIFTS

5

Mr. JINNAH as a parliamentary debator has no equal in India. It is a pleasure to hear him in the Central Assembly. His speciality is piercing attacks. He does not indulge in mere fire-works but what-ever criticism he levels at his opponent, is pointed and has flashing effect. A shiver runs through his adversaries when he gets up to make a speech. The most important side of his speech-making is that not only his audience listens to him spell-bound but he enjoys his speech himself. He does go in for choice selection of words but places his points before the audience and argues his subject logically and shrewdly like an experienced lawyer. Allow him to have his say. Unfortunately if you interrupt him, you are sure to get a rebutt with such accurate force that no wonder you are vanquished. In this art there is nobody to excel him in India. That is why even great leaders hear him patiently without entering into a passage of arms lest be shot by his retort.

In the year 1910, when Mr. Jinnah was a mere junior at the Bombay Bar, at an age when

most people would be on the look-out for a career, Mr. Jinnah was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council and loomed large in the public eye. There was definiteness in whatever he spoke and he was delivering 200 words-a-minute addresses on *ways* and other legal topics when most others would not have dared to speak on any subject with authority.

His Assembly speeches are remarkable in the respect that his repartees are both arresting in beauty and crushing in result. Mr. Jinnah is noted for giving hard knock-outs to the Government. It is impossible to give numerous instances of his power of debate in a book of this sort. So only a few instances are quoted at random from the Central Assembly proceedings, which mark him out as a parliamentarian of gift, able statesman and ready-witted rhetorician.

On January 22, 1935, when Mr. Sarat Bose was kept in detention for three years, Mr. Jinnah in a vigorous speech, said.

"Here is a member who though arrested in February 1932 has been kept under detention for 3 years and when challenged to put him to trial or release him, the Government takes neither step. Mr. Bose is a qualified member of the House and capable of exercising the rights as a member of the House. What is the use of quoting Parliamentary precedents when this House is not a sovereign House!

How does the Government justify the detention of Mr. Bose for one single day? Even if there is no question of privilege, is not the Assembly entitled to censure the Government for detaining without trial any person, in this case a Member of the House?"

Mr. Jinnah's vehement speech in support of the amendment on the Indo-British Pact was voted down on January 30, 1935. Mr. Jinnah's single and straight queries addressed to the Treasury Benches were terrible. Official case was shattered by the force of his arguments. He asked:

"If the Pact enunciated no new principle, carved no new policy and aimed at the crystallization of past practice, why give it form in a solemn treaty and put the noose round India's neck?" When the Finance Member popped up: "When does the Government levy duties on Indian imports?", Mr. Jinnah silenced Sir James Grigg telling him, "Don't betray your ignorance."

On February 4, 1935, the J. P. C. report was discussed. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's amendment and Mr. Jinnah's amendment were discussed by Sir N. N. Sircar, the Law Member. Analysing the amendments, Sir N. N. Sircar said that Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's motion was quite intelligible and meant that though the present constitution was bad, the proposed constitution was worse and that the mover did not want legislation on the basis of that

scheme. Other amendments raised spurious matters. All these proposals were also intelligible, but the Government found some difficulty in understanding the attitude of Mr. Mohamed Ali Jinnah. It was in three parts it affirmed the Communal Award and as for the constitutional structure, it said that the foundation and first story be removed and that the second story be kept with changes in the ceiling, the floor and walls and with enlargement of windows and yet Mr. Jinnah stated that he was not out for destruction like other horrible people (laughter) He proceeded

"I dare say my Honourable friend will explain his position. The only difficulty is created by the fact that some of his arguments are so subtle that it is difficult to follow them (Mr Jinnah Hear, hear) I was going to say that instead of this honest, direct and frontal attack which comes from Mr Bhulabhai Doshi, we have this a disingenuous, indirect attack from Mr Mohamed Ali Jinnah, although directed with the identical purpose". (Congress Hear, hear)

Mr. Jinnah "I won't be offended if the Law Member does not pronounce my name from beginning to the end" (laughter)

Sir N. N. Sitar "When I was a novice, I called Mr. Lalchand Navalmi by the first name and I was told I was wrong. I took a

lesson from that experience. However, in the case of Mr. Jinnah, I take his advice".

Speaking the same day, Mr. Desai referred that the Law Member had stated that there was no difference between his (Desai's) and Mr. Jinnah's proposition. That gave him strength of alliance which he valued.

Mr. Jinnah, dealing first with Mr. Desai's amendment, said that it meant a flat rejection of the entire scheme and neutrality over the Communal Award. As for the communal question, Mr. Jinnah's own self-respect would not be satisfied until Indians produced their own settlement (cheers). And he added :

"I accept the Award because unless I accept that, no scheme of constitution is possible (applause). I agree with Mr. Desai that religion, race and language should not enter politics, but the question of minorities is a political issue, faced and solved by other countries. It is as a political minority that I want protection and safeguard. Mr. Desai says: "Acquisition first, distribution afterwards." Why did then Mahatma Gandhi fast unto death and enter into the Poona Pact? I congratulate him and Hindus for that settlement by which they have reconciled their depressed brethren but did they wait for acquisition before distribution? (applause). Join hands with us in the same spirit. We are ready".

Mr. Jinnah next explained his own amendment, which the Law Member had characterized as "crooked and tortuous":

"We know in Law courts that when a person has a weak case he indulges in abuse. The Law Member says that I am destroying the foundation of a house with an upper story, but there is no upper story and the only story is the pretty story of the Law Member. Go and tell these stories to children" (laughter).

Mr. Jinnah quoted from the J. P. C. Report showing that Provincial Autonomy would come into being immediately and Federation was conditional upon the fulfilment of certain conditions, which, if they did not materialize, His Majesty's Government would take steps to review the whole position in consultation with Indian opinion.

Mr. Jinnah continued:

"My reply is, I have seen your Federal Scheme. I don't want to wait for these conditions. The Scheme is thoroughly rotten, fundamentally bad and totally unacceptable. Withdraw it. Between the conditions laid down by the princes and the iron-wall safeguards, I am nowhere." Continuing, Mr. Jinnah said that the Government sometimes said the Congress represented the whole of India and at other times, that it was a small addition minority and asked, "Where do I come in?" (laughter).

"But am I going to be penalised for the talk of a section of my countrymen? What about your Churchill, Lloyd, O'Dwyer and Craddock? I go by what they say. I will kick you out from India at once. I say that this constitution you are proposing for the centre is worse than the present constitution. This constitution means absolute sacrifice of all that British India stands for and has worked for and has developed during the last fifty years in the matter of representative form of Government. I appeal to the Princes: Is this responsibility? The Home Member asked whether we were willing to go on under the existing humiliating and intolerable constitution. My answer is what is coming is more humiliating and more intolerable. We are told we are playing the game of Mr. Churchill".

Sir Henry Craik: "You are doing it".

Mr. Finnah: "If you want to misunderstand us, do so; if you want to misrepresent us, do so. Mr. Churchill does not want any advance at the Centre. I want the whole position to be reviewed to establish responsible Government in my country (cheers). Lord Irwin's announcement promised Legislation based on the largest measure of agreement. This scheme may have the largest common measure of agreement in the Conservative Party but there is no agreement with us. The British people's

idea of partnership is, 'We will call you partner if you do what we tell you'. The British demand for co-operation and good-will means, 'You must submit to what I say'."

Mr. Jinnah, continuing, said:

"This idea of Federation is a design to withhold responsibility at the Centre. We are put on the wrong track. They put us in a vicious circle of responsibility at the Centre without Federation. If Federation drops, Provincial Autonomy drops. My experience of the first Round Table Conference is that our proposals were rejected by the Bankoy Report. At the second Conference in every suggestion we made, they saw what it would give us and they made safeguards to prevent that happening (applause). At the third Round Table Conference, the same thing happened and chronic and incurable co-operators, like Mr. Mody, persisted on the Joint Parliamentary Committee discussion. Their joint memorandum has been thrown in the wastepaper basket (applause). We may be helpless but our self-respect demands we should tell you that we do not want this scheme. The Secretary of State has told the House of Commons that the safeguards are going to be used and that the Services and Army stood behind them to put them into effect. Sir Joseph Bhabha has

read from Abraham Lincoln. That was like a devil quoting scripture".

Dealing finally with Provincial Autonomy, Mr. Jinnah admitted it was undoubtedly an advance on the present position (applause). The frame-work of responsibility envisaged in the scheme was an advance and his desire was that this modification suggested therein should be made. Whereas Mr. Bhulabhai Desai had rejected the proposals, Mr. Jinnah said he had made counter-proposals.

On February 10, 1938, Mr. Jinnah who was a rare visitor to the House gave his views on the motion to amend the Railway Act. He showed himself as the most uncompromising opponent of Federation. He said: "We can never agree to the Government imposing the whole scheme on us. I must oppose the Bill wholesale as it seeks, bit by bit and step by step to bring into force, directly or indirectly, the Federal part of the Government of India Act to which we are stoutly opposed" (cheers from Muslim and Congress benches).

Mr. Asaf Ali, Secretary to the Congress Party, said the Congress Party would have opposed the Bill if it was assured by other parties that they were with it (Congress).

Mr. Jinnah, intervening, complained that the Congress Party was not co-operating with other

parties and if it had done so on this occasion, the party (Independents) would have only been too glad to co-operate with the Congress.

When Mr. Asaf Ali sermonized, "I welcome Mr. Jinnah's gesture and the Congress Party is over willing to co-operate", Mr. Jinnah retorted: "Don't say it. But do it."

On December 8, 1930, the debate on the Income-tax Bill commenced, when Mr. Jinnah very vigorously underlined Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's points. The strange spectacle of Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Desai paying tributes to each other was also seen. Mr. Desai acknowledged Mr. Jinnah's great astuteness in obtaining concessions. He proceeded, "No party can get sixteen annas from a compromise", when Mr. Satyawarthi intervened: "The Finance Member has got 16 annas".

Mr. Subedar: "What about the *bonafides* of the House?" (laughter).

Mr. Jinnah: "It has been fully established" (cheers).

Mr. Subedar: "Then the Finance Member must withdraw his words".

Mr. Jinnah: "When the *bonafides* has been fully established there is no need for anybody to withdraw any thing" (renewed cheers).

On March 28, 1930, when the Indo-British Trade Pact was rejected, Mr. Jinnah in a forceful

with the prince and then be sent to the kitchen. Greta Garbo is not going to be Cinderella. She is going to be a star artist (more laughter). You cannot go on like that, and ask me to walk into your parlour. I say this agreement is a *fait accompli*. It was to come into force on April 1. Government ask: 'Cannot we find some scape-goat, somebody, who could be made a tool of, so that we can say that the House has accepted the agreement?'. I refuse to play that role (Hear, hear). As I have described to you, 95 per cent of the interest in this Agreement is that of Hindu capitalists and Non-Muslim capitalists. I do not grudge, let them flourish. But this is a fight between British capitalists and mainly Hindu capitalists. They are represented by these benches (pointing to Congress benches). Who am I to tell them from what point of view and from what basis they should start? They say that this bargain is a swindle. The mill-owners also say that it is a swindle. Then may I know, why I should support you (addressing Government benches)? What have you done for me?"

On April 14, 1939, there was a debate on Sugar Duty Bill. Sir A. H. Ghaznavi flung some abuses on the Congress Party and maintained that though he disobeyed Mr. Jinnah's instruction he could best serve the interests of the Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah appeared "a curious mixture of bitterness and remorse today". He shot an attack on Ghaznavi and reserved all his wrath for the

Commerce Secretary who had told the Council of State that Mr. Jinnah had thrown dust into his followers' eyes.

Mr. Jinnah proceeded to reply to the criticisms in a certain section of the Press and outside which had blamed the Muslim League Party on the ground that it took up a "communal attitude" on the Indo-British Trade Agreement. "It is absolutely false," declared Mr. Jinnah, "I do maintain that we are here to consider also the interests of Mussalmans. That does not mean that we are indifferent or hostile, to the larger interest of India." He had made it clear that just as the Leader of the Opposition claimed to represent his constituency, the mill-owners of Ahmedabad, so also the Muslim League Party must take into consideration the interests of Mussalmans also. "To my great regret Sir M. Zafrullah Khan said—I think he must be sorry for it now—that he was surprised that 'a man of the standing and ability of Mr. Jinnah should have introduced the communal note'. The very basis of his presence in this house is that he is a Mussalman" (cheers from the Muslim League benches).

On November 21, 1940, Mr. Jinnah explained League's attitude in a very cogent and logical speech. He reiterated the Muslim League's determination not to embarrass the Government and asked the Congress Party: "Why not you and I put our heads together and present a

common united demand to Mr. Amery or the British Parliament or the British Nation"! (Hear, hear).

Speaking about Pakistan he said: "Mind you, I do not say I am satisfied with the acceptance of the principle, but it is not a question of my being satisfied. Nobody is going to get sixteen annas, and believe me, especially when you are in the grip of danger, it is not wise for one party or the other to put up extraordinary demands because that is not business. That is, therefore, the very reason why we have never said a word that you should agree to give me Pakistan before I support you. And believe me, whatever my friends of the Congress Party may say, we have finally determined that is our only goal, and we shall fight for it and die for it (cheers). Make no mistake about it. Democracy is dead, democracy of Mr. Desai's kind" (renewed cheers).

"We may be less in numbers and we are, but we can give you, I venture to say, and I am not saying this by way of threat but by way of information to you, that we can give you hundred times more trouble than the Congress can give, if we so determine. But we do not want it. You will realise it. We do not want to do it even now".

Mr. Jinnah went on to say that the Congress leaders had always had at the back of their minds the idea that the Congress alone represented the

country. That was the reason why there had been no settlement between Hindus and Muslims. The Congress had the idea that all that minorities could press for were safeguards as minorities. "Mussalmans always had at the back of their minds during the last twenty five years that they were a separate entity".

Mr. Aney interrupted: "That was not the view of Mr. Jinnah in 1920".

Mr. Jinnah said that the Lucknow Pact was passed on the fundamental principle of two separate entities.

Again Mr. Aney butted in with: "I was there".

Shot back Mr. Jinnah: "You may have been there but you were not even heard of. That has been the idea at the back of Mussalman mind. That is why Mussalmans insisted upon the separation of Sind. Outwardly other reasons might have been given for it and against it; but that was the real reason for it".

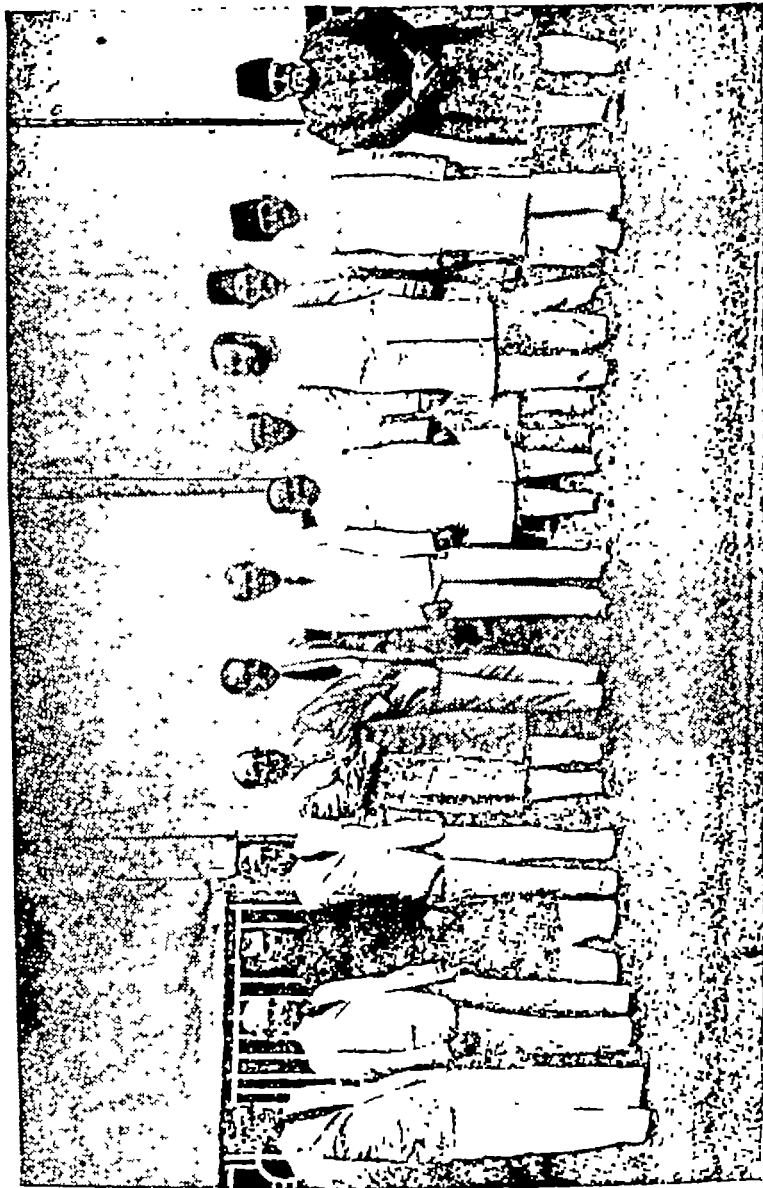
Mr. Lalchand Navalrai intervened to say: "Is it not unfortunate for Sind just now"?

Jinnah again retorted: "We are all unfortunate. Nobody is fortunate just now".

Mr. Jinnah's parliamentary flair is most remarkable. Even the fastidious London *Times* has showered its best praises on his career and conduct

in the Assembly. 'Mr. Jinnah is a powerful debator. And he is a master of tactics and strategy. His leadership of the Independent Party in the Assembly was a signal triumph. Mr. Jinnah is the very embodiment of courage. He will stand up to any man. "There sits the Commander-in-Chief", he would say and point his accusing finger at the star-spangled military dignitary. Mr. Jinnah's sibilant voice and direct manner are such as would stiffen the upper lips of the somnolent occupants of the Treasury bench. He was the only Indian colleague in the Assembly for whom Pandit Motilal had real respect and that is saying a good deal'.

Admirers of his unique parliamentary talents are many. Sir F. E. James has observed: "I have greatly admired Mr. Jinnah's unique parliamentary gifts. As a political strategist it is difficult to find his equal in India today". Mr. Satyamurthi has described him as "a politician to his finger-tips".



QAEDE AZAM WITH LEAGUE WORKING COMMITTEE 1941.

"We mean what we say and say what we mean."

6

NATIONALIST FIRST AND LAST

MR. JINNAH'S politics is very interesting. When he returned from England he was full of life and actuated by a keen sense of patriotism, he wanted to serve his mother-land. Besides, he was very much influenced by Dadabhai Naoroji during his stay in London. From his boyhood, Mr. Jinnah had developed a passion for his religion and his mother country. His ambition was to be considered as one of the Faithful and at the same time one of India's greatest sons; to put it shortly, he was anxious to earn the sobriquet, "The Muslim Gokhale".

Mr. Gokhale was Mr. Jinnah's early model. Mr. Jinnah followed him both in spirit and deed. Mr. Gokhale's life was an inspiration and he tried to emulate him in all spheres. Mr. Gokhale was a bold champion of the rights of man, often fearlessly condemned and opposed the measures of Government and found fault with the administration of the country, but never had he exceeded the limits of decency and moderation. In this respect Mr. Jinnah

followed Mr. Gokhale to the extreme. His respectful behaviour won for him universal recognition and soon he became an All-India figure. If he was an Indian first, he was a Muslim fore-most. He made no secret of his unflinching patriotism. A man may be known by the company he keeps; but Mr. Jinnah is known by the speeches he has made. In the year 1925, while discussing the Indian Finance Bill in the Imperial Legislative Assembly, he said: "I never was a candidate and I am not a candidate for any post. I, sir, stand here with a clear conscience and I say that I am a nationalist first, a nationalist second and a nationalist last. I once more appeal to this House, whether you are a Mussalman or a Hindu, for God's sake do not import the discussion of communal matters into this House and degrade this Assembly which we desire should become a real National Parliament. Set an example to the outside world and our people".

Certain it is, that Mr. Jinnah was from the very beginning a staunch Congressman, his own political views had been shaped by Gokhale, Dadabhai, Surendranath Banerjee and C. R. Das, whom he adopted as his guides and for whom he had the greatest respect. In the course of a speech in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Jinnah said:

"Sir, I might say that I learnt my first lessons in politics at the feet of Sir Surendranath Banerjee. I was associated with him as one of

his followers and I looked up to him as a leader. He commanded the utmost respect of a large body of people in this country and of my humble self. Sir, the only lesson I feel that we might draw from the career of this great man is this: in Unity lies Salvation".

In fact his patriotic zeal was so great and his nationalistic enthusiasm so intense that he became the hero of all and even Mr. Gokhale spoke of him as "one who has true stuff in him and that freedom from all sectarian prejudice which makes him the best Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity." So much so, Mr. Jinnah became the beloved of Hindus and Muslims alike, and there was none more fitted to be called the 'Ambassador of Unity'. No doubt both in the old reformed Council and in the New Legislative Assembly he represented only purely communal constituencies, but this did not prevent him from enjoying the esteem and regard of the Hindus.

In spite of the fact that Mr. Jinnah exhibited great religious fervour at the time of marriage some interested orthodox Muslims considered Mr. Jinnah's marriage as something outside the pale of orthodoxy and had their misgivings about the religious convictions of Mr. Jinnah, but it must be said to the credit of this great leader of Indian Muslims that from the very beginning, both in his private life as well as in his outside conduct, he has demonstrated himself as a staunch believer

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in Islam. Innumerable quotations can be produced in support of this. The following extracts from his speech throw sufficient light on his strong adherence to his faith:

"There is one word more, Sir, before I finish. I do not think it necessary to mention these things really, but one is forced into this lest one may be misunderstood. But for the present state of the Mussalman community and in some quarters in particular, I do not think it is necessary for any Mussalman to say that he would not do anything either in this Council or outside this Council which is likely to prejudice the interest or the cause of his community. I, sir, yield to none in that respect. If this Bill (The Elementary Education Bill introduced by Gokhale) had been referred to a Select Committee and I wish it, if certain requirements were not embodied in this Bill by the Select Committee to safeguard the Mussalmans and if this Bill would have come before this Council without those requirements which I think will be necessary in the interests of the Muslims in the present state of the condition of the people in this country, I would have been the first to oppose that Bill until and unless those requirements were incorporated in the Bill. But that is not the question; that is not the point before the Council today. Therefore I will only rest content by saying this: that if this Bill were

not referred to the Select Committee and if this Bill did not provide for certain requirements and modifications which I think are just in the interests of the Mussalmans, I would certainly then be the first to oppose it”.

On another occasion while the Indian Shipping (Second Amendment) Bill was being discussed he said :

“Sir, I am one of those men who do not mind vilification or mis-representation. Any man who enters into the public life takes it as in the day’s work that you are vilified and you are misrepresented. But that is not going to prevent us on the floor of this House from doing our duty according to our convictions. Now, Sir, as the Honourable Sir Mohamed Habibullah has said, if I thought that this measure was against the tenets of our religion, I certainly would not be a contesting party to it. Then if we are satisfied that it is not against Islam or the interests of Islam and the community, what is the next question that we have got to consider in this House? On the merits, is this Bill a beneficent Bill or is it not? That is the next question. Well, Sir, I am satisfied that it is for the benefit of my community and, therefore, I have no hesitation in giving my assent to this Bill”.

Instances of this kind can be multiplied in most of his speeches wherein he has always laid

emphasis on the fact that a Muslim should not deviate from the tenets of his religion which ought to be the first article of his faith.

By interested persons he has been accused of being not interested in Islam, but at heart Mr. Jinnah's love for his religion is most remarkable. It is only guided by this regard for his religion that Mr. Jinnah became an authority on Mohamedan Law and it is this 'attachment' that impelled him to sponsor the Waqf Validating Bill in the Imperial Council in 1913, sitting as a special member for an extra term for that purpose.

In supporting the Bill, he made this remark :

"What we have got to do is to administer the Mohamedan Law to the Mussalmans, and therefore to introduce the question of public policy, to my mind, is outside the question; and therefore, there is no such thing as public policy of any kind, so far as Muslim jurisprudence is concerned to which the provisions of this Bill are in any way opposed. I therefore give that simple answer to that point".

It is wrong to think that Mr. Jinnah was not in the good books of Muslims from the beginning. On the contrary, ever since he won a name for himself he had not only won the confidence of the Muslims but also his position as a leader of the Muslims was always unchallenged as it is today. Again and again he was returned, from the beginning,

to the Imperial Legislative Council of the Morley-Minto Reforms from Muslim constituency and as a Muslim member from Bombay. Simply because he was representing a communal constituency, never did Mr. Jinnah take into the Council Hall communal strife. It does not mean that he forgot his voters and failed in his duty towards them. He kept up a strong vigilance and watched jealously and saw to it that the fact of the Muslims being a minority was never used against their interests. And he never allowed encroachments on the interests of the Muslims, their law and their religion. Everyone had a good word for every act he did. He always had in mind the good of the community which often and again, reposed its confidence in him and elected him as its accredited representative. But his interest in the community never weaned away his love for the mother-land and his impressive speeches on the Elementary Education Bill, the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Bill and Transfer of Ships Restriction Bill, bear testimony to his adherence to patriotic views. Whenever he felt that the interests of the nation were not safe in the hands of the Government, he minced no words to say it boldly. His frank and undaunted attacks in the Council and Assembly are very famous. His speeches on the Police Administration, on the working of the Indian Railways and on the Budgets were clear and to the point and constituted powerful whiplash on the ways and methods of the bureaucracy.

His speech during the discussion of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill was also fiery. He was of the opinion that a frank and independent criticism of the Government or the measures of the Government was the duty of every member of the State. But he was thoroughly against such emotional and 'mis-guided enthusiasm' which defied law and order but created only nuisance value. He always believed in legitimately fighting for a cause and would never be a willing party to the action of hitting below the belt.

The following extract from his speech in connection with the Criminal Law Amendment Bill throws enough light on his strength of conviction to maintain which he fought often:

"I wish to express that nobody condemns in stronger terms the misdeeds of which a long list was given to us a few minutes ago by the Home Member. I also wish to express that every attempt on the part of my countrymen to undermine the authority of the Government and to disturb law and order deserves, in my opinion, the strongest condemnation and the highest punishment. These men who have a desire to undermine the authority of the Government, these men who have a desire to disturb law and order, are in my opinion, the highest enemies of my country and my people. They are to-day doing the greatest harm to the cause of India."

NO TRUCK WITH RADICALS

MR. JINNAH had set principles. He had abomination for those who trespassed the laws. He had no sympathy for a radical. He always hoped to bring the Government to its proper senses; he believed that the Government could be reformed only by constitutional means. At times there were moments when contemplating about the Government he used to feel like sighing 'Nothing doing'—but even then not for a single second did he consider that the ways adopted by revolutionaries and anarchists would bear fruit.

His abhorrence for anarchism and the revolutionary led him to support the Press Act and he justified his attitude in the following words:

"I remember, Sir, in 1910, when the Press Bill was introduced at Calcutta, much as we felt that a severe blow was going to be dealt at the liberty of the press, much that one most prized liberty vi"

of the press was going to be curtailed, our hands were tied, our mouths were closed by the misdeeds of some of the misguided men who belong to our country and we, almost as a body of non-official members, realised and felt that the Government was bound to take certain measures to maintain order and law; and reluctant as we were, we felt that, although we were losing what we prized most viz., the liberty of the Press to a certain extent, we not only supported it but we supported it with every power that was in our possession."

Then referring to the conditions of the time (April 1913) he said:

"On this occasion I feel that having regard to the history of political crimes, my hands are tied, my mouth is closed and my countrymen who are responsible for these deeds are responsible today for the position which I occupy in the Council at this moment".

Then he sounded a note of warning to those rebellious radicals:

✓ "Let those men who still have these misguided ideas, let those men who still have these hallucinations realise that by anarchism, by dastardly crimes, they cannot bring about good Government; let them realise that these methods have not succeeded in any country in

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the world and are not likely to succeed in India. Let those men realise, before it is too late and before they bring their country into a position which may be regretted by every patriot who feels for and loves his motherland; let them realise that these are not the methods”.

It was for the very same reason he did not see eye to eye with Mr. Gandhi over the Khilafat agitation and broke from the Congress on the very issue. ✓

Mr. Jinnah is a frank and probably the most outspoken of men. He never kept his views to himself. What he felt sincerely he made public of it, let people think what they may. Once in the Imperial Council he boldly remarked:

“Sir, I believe in criticising the Government freely and frankly; but at the same time that it is the duty of every educated man to support and help the Government when the Government is right”.

It is on this foundation that his political attitude towards the Government is built and only in consonance with this theory he lent his support to the Criminal Law Amendment Bill and also the Press Bill.

Actuated by the same motive and the spirit of accommodation, he welcomed the Indian Defence Force Bill. The same spirit animated his speech at

the public meeting held in July 1917 in Bombay to pass a vote of confidence in Lord Hardinge:

"Why was it", he asked, "that even now India was willing to bleed white without a murmur? It was because they had a Viceroy who shared in their sorrows and who shared in their joys, who understood the hearts of the people of the country and who held liberal and generous ideas about their national progress".

Mr. Jinnah was not one of those who criticized the Government downright without rhyme or reason. He did not, like many, attack the policies of the Government without suggesting constructive way-outs.

Here is an extract from a speech which goes to show what he expects of a Government to do in case it wants to win its subjects to its side:

✓ "My Lord, if you want India to care for your Government, to stand by you, to co-operate with you, what we want is that the spirit of the Government should be Indian (no matter whether the personnel is foreign or Indian) and that on occasions when the interests of India are likely to suffer, when any injustice is going to be done, our Government and those who are at the head of the Government should stand up for us and speak for us as any Indian would do".

His treatment of the English was not inimical. He was no race-hater. He had no enmity with them.

He wanted them to either govern or get out. He did not want to drive them out of India. Even to a foreign personnel in the Government he had no objection; he never desired the exclusion of Englishmen from Indian Civil Service. But what he fought for and is continuously fighting for is equal treatment, equal opportunities and equal advantages given to the Englishmen and Indians alike without any sort of discrimination whatever. What he objects to are the three monopolies that the Englishmen enjoy in India: (1) the monopoly of power in the administration of the country (2) the monopoly of commerce and (3) the military monopoly.

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JOINS LEAGUE

MR. JINNAH's political career began as an ardent nationalist for it was the common thing to be in those days. He was in the Congress for a long time and was attached to it very passionately. In the beginning he caught the public eye only at the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1906, in which year for the first time in the national awakening Dadabhai Naoroji, who presided over the Congress, explained the goal of Indian national struggle as Swaraj. Then Mr. Jinnah was working as the private secretary of this 'Grand Old Man', Dadabhai Naoroji. As a routine, he had been attending every Congress session. But only at the Calcutta session, Mr. Jinnah made his first public appearance by making his maiden speech on family waqfs, which he boldly advocated later during its discussions in the Legislative Council.

In 1906 the Muslim League was established to safeguard the interests of the Muslims. Though Mr. Jinnah appreciated the formation of the League to advance the cause of Muslims, the narrow sectarianism did not appeal to him much and so he

did not take any active part in it. But his sympathies were with the Muslims. In the year 1910 there was a big Conference of Hindus and Muslims held at Allahabad under the presidency of Sir William Wedderburn. At the request of the Muslim League, which had great respect for Mr. Jinnah even though he was not a member of the organisation, he attended that Conference. His main purpose in attending the conference was to bring unity between the Hindus and Muslims. He always strove to achieve this aim though the goal he contemplated was ever receding from him. The man was ready, but the time had not come. Nothing favourable or substantial was achieved at this Conference. But better days, however, were ahead. Two years later (i.e.) in 1912 there met the prominent Muslim leaders at Calcutta in a conference to consider and remodel the constitution of the All-India Muslim League on more progressive and patriotic lines. The League's Secretary went on a long tour gathering Muslim opinion and in December 1912, a special Council meeting was held to consider varied proposals. Mr. Jinnah was present at the meeting by special invitation to render help to the proceedings. Let it be remembered that he was then also outside the League. His Highness the Aga Khan presided over the deliberations and a new constitution emerged out, which was again very enthusiastically adopted by the special open sessions of the League which met at Lucknow on the 22nd of March 1913.

Mr. Jinnah attended this session, though still a non-member, and took part in the discussions and gave his invaluable support in drafting the new constitution. It is said that only because of his strong advocacy a resolution was drafted which in spirit embodied the Congress ideal of "attainment under the aegis of the British crown of a system of self-Government suitable to India through constitutional means by bringing about a steady record of the existing system of administration, by promoting unity, by fostering public spirit and by co-operating with other communities for the said purpose".

In 1913, Mr. Jinnah turned a new leaf in his career. He had been a member of the Legislative Council for the past three years. He was, in fact, one of the brightest members in the House. This year, he introduced and successfully piloted the Waqf Validating Bill. For the first time in the annals of Indian Legislature a Bill introduced by a private member became law. He displayed during the progress of the Bill great powers as a tactician and debator and as one who can drive home a point forcibly and successfully.

Now since the Muslim League had a forward policy and an advanced new constitution and as Mr. Jinnah himself had a lion's share in giving it shape, it was felt that Mr. Jinnah should be invited to join the League. Accordingly Maulana Mohamed Ali and Syed Wazir Hasan, the two



QAEDE AZAM UNFURLING THE LEAGUE FLAG

"The League has given you a flag, a pl."

"3."

INNAN.

leading lights of the League, persuaded Mr. Jinnah to join the League. At the close of the year 1913, Mr. Jinnah became a member of the League—to him enrolment was a sacrament. At the outset he agreed to sign the League pledge only on the condition that never would his interests in the Muslim League and Muslim cause mean a change of loyalties and that his *bona fides* would never be questioned in the larger national cause. Since then Mr. Jinnah has been an ardent Muslim Leaguer and his attachment with it has become a relation of flesh and bones.

He was a man of stuff and consequently it was not difficult for him to make his influence felt on others. By and by he rose in the estimation of his colleagues and became a full-fledged Congressman. Not a single annual session did he miss and at every session he made a mark by his prominent presence and dominating part in the deliberations. In 1913 when the Congress session met at Karachi, he made a remarkable speech. Let it be remembered that Karachi was his birthplace and he felt proud of the fact as is well-evident from the following extract of his speech :

“You do not know what pleasure it gives me to stand on this platform in this city of Karachi, where I was born, where I have found by my side, after my arrival in this city, personal friends with whom I played in my boyhood”.

It was at this session that Mr. Jinnah moved a resolution disapproving with the then existing India Council and pleading for its re-orientation on sound and progressive lines. His chief suggestions were (1) that the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be placed on the English estimates, (2) that the independence of the Council should be secured by providing for election by the members of the Legislative Councils in India, and (3) that the character of the Council should be advisory and not administrative.

While advocating these suggestions for the acceptance of the Congress he remarked that the then constitution of the Council made the Secretary of the State a greater Moghul than any Moghul that ruled India. And added to this, those persons who were on the Council were only persons with settled opinions and as such there was no opportunity for the representation of the views of non-official Indians and "that the Council unduly interfered with the details of the administration". In the Agra session of the Muslim League which met at the same time, he expressed and advocated the same opinion; for in those days there was no ban on any one from being a member of the League and the Congress at the same time. And while in London, when the Congress delegates were entertained by Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Jinnah very strongly took up arms against the proposed portfolio system and waged a war for seats in the India Council to be filled up by

election from India. He amplified the Congress attitude towards the Bill and issued a statement to the London *Times*, very strongly criticising the Bill, saying :

“I cannot but say that the provisions contained therein are most disappointing and I feel sure that that is how the people of India will receive it; what hope can measures like this inspire in the people of India who are working forward to bigger and more substantial reforms in time to come when in matters such as reform of the Council of the Secretary of the State for India which is after all more advisory in its character than any thing else, the just proposals of the Deputation appointed by the Indian National Congress have not been accepted”.

LUCKNOW PACT

MR. GOKHALE died in 1915. In the following year, Mr. Jinnah was elected as the President of the All-India Muslim League which met at Lucknow in December. In October 1916, Mr. Jinnah presided over the Bombay Provincial Conference at Ahmedabad. In his presidential address, he remarked :

“Granting that there is peace, prosperity and efficient administration in the hands of the civil servants, is that any reason that the control, the management and the administration of the affairs of our country should for ever be continued as monopoly in the hands of a bureaucratic Government?.....Is that any reason why the commissioned ranks in the Military and Naval services should be closed to the sons of India? Is that any reason for denying to Indians the right to join the Volunteer Corps and for continuing the application of the Arms' Act?.....The first question that arises is whether this system of administration conducted

by the civil servants who are neither under the control of or responsible to the people who pay their salaries can any longer continue. It is said that they are responsible to the Secretary of State for India and that the Secretary of State for India in turn is responsible to Parliament.....Is it possible or rational as a rule for members of Parliament to grasp or grapple with questions affecting the internal administration and progress of India? When it was found that was not possible in the case of Australia, Canada, and South Africa, with few millions, would it not be miraculous if they continued to manage successfully affairs of India by Parliament sitting in London?"

Once when a debate about giving full powers to the Finance Member was in full swing, Mr. Jinnah, supporting an amendment, said: "This Executive is not responsible to any Legislature except Parliament 7,000 miles away and Parliament has no time to keep an eye on the Honorable Member who represents the Finance Department".

Then came the questions of joint and separate electorates. See what noble thoughts inspired him to consider the need for communal electorates:

"To most of us the question is no more open to further discussion or argument as it has become a mandate of the community. As far as I understand, the demand for separate

electorates is not a matter of policy but a matter of necessity to the Muslims who require to be roused from the coma and torpor into which they had fallen so long".

But his support for separate electorates was not based on animosity towards the Hindus. Far from it. He had always been an ardent worker for Hindu-Muslim Unity. His concluding para bears testimony to this. He said:

"In conclusion, let me tell you that after all a great deal depends upon ourselves. Hindus and Muslims, united and firm, the voice of the three hundred millions of people vibrating throughout the length and breadth of the country, will produce a force which no power on earth can resist. India has, I believe, turned a corner. She has passed through great sufferings and borne them patiently for centuries. There is now a bright and a great future in front of her. We are on a straight road; the promised land is in sight. 'Forward' is the motto and clear course for young India. But in the onward march, we must be circumspect, and never lose sight of the true perspective before us. And wisdom and caution should be our watch-words".

The sobriquet *Ambassador of Unity* was not conferred on him for nothing. From the early political career he has been moving mountains and



In the Calcutta Congress he moved for the adoption of the Congress-League scheme and very masterfully defended it. In the same Congress he gave his full support to the self-Government resolution. In 1915 itself to clear misunderstandings from the minds of the Muslim leaders, he issued an appeal to them to attend the simultaneous sessions in Bombay. In the course of his appeal he stated :

"I wish to state with the greatest emphasis that there is no truth in the baseless statements made in some quarters that any responsible Muslim Leader thinks that the League should be merged into the Indian National Congress. But Conference in collaboration, if possible, is the object, and what objection is there to this course?"

Thus a Congress-League session was possible and as an eye-witness described it thus : "Seldom has the pageant of times unrolled a scene so touching, so thrilling, so magnificent with drama and dressing as was enacted on the afternoon of December 30, 1915, when amidst the cheers and applause of the gathered multitude the veteran heroes of the National Congress entered in a body to greet and bless the comrades of the Muslim League!"

His presidential address at the Muslim League session (1916) is very interesting. He referred to India's loyalty to the empire ideal :

“What India has given in service and sacrifice has been a free and a spontaneous tribute to the ideals of the great British nation, as well as a necessary contribution to the stronger of the fighting forces of civilization which are so valiantly rolling back the tides of scientifically-organised barbarism. In this willing service of the people of India there has been no distinction of class or creed. It has come from every part of the land and from every community with equal readiness and devotion. In this service there has been no cold calculated instinct at work. It has sprung from a clear compelling sense of duty and moral sympathy and not from any commercial desire to make a safe political investment. India's loyalty to the Empire has set no price on itself”.

Then he passed through ‘a few of the baseless and silly generalities in which the advocates of the existing methods of Indian governance indulged freely and provocatively when the least menace arose to the monopoly of the bureaucratic authority and power’ and pointed out that India was quite fit for freedom and that she would be a partner within the Empire and her determination was to achieve that goal and nothing less would satisfy her. He also explained how the Muslims and Hindus were united in holding the Congress and League sessions at Bombay in 1915 and again at Lucknow in 1916. After what amount of endeavour, these simultaneous sessions were held is evident from his League address in 1916 :

"The simultaneous sessions were brought about with no little labour, anxiety and trouble. I do not wish to go into the past controversy but I venture to say that the session of the All-India Muslim League at Bombay will go down to posterity as peculiarly interesting in its results The League rose phoenix-like, stronger, more solidified and determined in its ideals and aspirations, with added strength of resolution in carrying out its programme . . . The main principle on which the first All-India Muslim political organisation was based was the retention of Muslim communal individuality strong and unimpaired in any constitutional readjustment that might be made in India in the course of its political evolution. The creed has grown and broadened with the growth of political life and thought in the community. I have been a staunch Congressman throughout my public life and have been no lover of sectarian cries, but it appears to me that the reproach of separation sometimes levelled at Mussalmans is singularly inept and wide of the mark, when I see this communal organisation rapidly growing into a powerful factor for the birth of United India. A minority must above everything else have broader political sense which can be evoked for co-operation and united endeavour in the national tasks; to the Mussalmans of India that security can only come through adequate and effective

safeguards as regards their political existence as a community."

Then he referred to the Congress-League scheme in bringing about which he played so important a part and put forth a proposal to draft a Bill, an amending Bill to the Government of India Act by constitutional lawyers. Mr. Jinnah was one of the nineteen Members of the Imperial Legislative Council who drafted and submitted the famous Memorandum on the Reforms and a new constitution. His activities along with the Congress-League Deputation to England for bringing about changes in the proposed Montford Reforms and his evidence before the Joint Committee were very remarkable. He stated in his address:

✓ "I was one of the signatories (to the Memorandum of the nineteen members) and I would urge upon you to follow them (the proposals) substantially so far as fundamental principles are involved in those proposals; those demands were formulated by responsible men who owe duty to the Government and the people alike as 'chosen representatives' and not in a spirit of bargaining; those demands are the minimum in the strict sense of the word co-operation in the cause of our mother-land should be our guiding principle."

With the advent of the Reforms, Mr. Jinnah found himself in his proper place in the

Legislative Assembly and there he organised the Nationalist Party. He took an active part in the debate for the grant of full Self-Governing Dominion Status to India and supported Pandit Motilal Nehru. When this passage from his evidence before the Joint Committee was cited to him: ,

"We have no other method to suggest. Dyarchy fits in more with the order of things as they exist at present in India and it can be justified on the ground that it is for a transitional period," Mr. Jinnah replied.

"My proposal was that there should be dyarchy in the central Government also" and added. "We have realised, sir, that dyarchy has failed."

His view about dyarchy was one of very great importance. It will be noted that he was one of the members of the Reforms Enquiry Committee presided over by Sir Alexander Muddiman. So he took this opportunity of giving weight to his views which were published in the Reforms Enquiry Committee report in March 1925. It was an important stage in the history of the Reform Movement in India. The majority report signed by the President and four others defended the present system and suggested a few slight modifications in the Act with a view to pacify the national demand which was becoming more and more insistent. As against this was the Minority Report signed by Mr. Jinnah, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer and Dr. Paranjpye vehemently opposing dyarchy.

In the Central Assembly in February 1925, a resolution was moved requesting and urging the Governor-General to take early steps for establishing a well equipped Military college in India. His speech on this point was remarkable in the fact that it impressed the House as well as the Government who received many a hit during the course of Mr. Jinnah's speech. He deplored very much at the policy of drift adopted by the Government and took them to task for the undue delay in Indianizing the army. He even went a step further, condemned the Government, questioned their sincerity in relation to their promises at an early stage to militarise Indian elements. It was, without doubt, his masterful and biting speech which resulted in the appointment of the Sken Committee.

During the discussion, Mr. Jinnah said: "It is wholly unsatisfactory, and unless His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief comes into this House with a proper scheme which will convince us of a real beginning, not a rebellious beginning, not merely a sort of (a voice "eye wash") just eye-wash but a real thing, then I shall welcome it". When Mr. R. D. Bell intervened and said: "Eye wash is a very good thing for sore eyes", Mr. Jinnah silenced the interruptor saying: "But what happens when you have got no eyes and will not see.

You are trifling with this House. I can only say that none are so blind as those who will not see."

He always fought for a righteous cause. In the Assembly once he made a speech for the protection of Indian Industries as a whole even though it affected the interests of the City of Bombay from where he was returned. His love for India could not be diminished by his love for his own City. "I say I am not going to be guided by my own city that I love. I have got here as a Member of this Assembly to consider the larger and national interests, and that is the one consideration which weighs with me in this Assembly and I hope that is the only consideration which will always weigh with me. Certainly, I would be the first to assist Bombay if I could, but not at the expense of larger interests".

One of the most important traits in the character of Mr Jinnah is his independent out-look on political issues. This was manifest to the full when he protested against the Lee Report. He admitted the worth of superior Service but boldly criticised their extravagant claims, 'claims which are incompatible with the policy of Indianization besides being a heavy drain on the finances of India'. However, he supported the resolution on the Lee Commission Report wherein he urged that his own community must be given the opportunity to serve the Government:

“Speaking on behalf of my colleagues here who would agree with me, the Mohamedans do not desire anything else but their just and fair share and their proper rights and I feel confident also that there is no Hindu member in this House who would for a single moment grudge to the Mussalmans their just and fair rights; and I am glad that the Home Member has also recognised that in his speech”.

When the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Bill was discussed, Mr. Jinnah opposed it very vehemently. He condemned and criticised the bureaucracy in very strong and forceful words:

“It is nothing else but a disgrace to any civilised Government to resort to a measure of this character. I repeat without fear of contradiction that when the Ordinance was promulgated by the Governor-General it was condemned universally by the people of India. That Ordinance has not expired yet. It could be in force for six months only. In the face of public opinion, the obstinacy of the Government has gone to this length, that instead of coming to this Legislature, they take shelter under the local Legislature. They went to the Bengal Council, what did they find there? The Legislature of Bengal rejected the Bill; and how was it enacted? It was enacted by a process of certification, a certification which required the assent of His Majesty. And here

I may say that I am shocked that such an abhorrent measure, that this abomination should have been placed on the table of the British Parliament and should have been allowed to pass the scrutiny and resentment which ought to have been shown against this measure. I am one of the greatest admirers of the British Parliament, but when the British Parliament has come to this, I think I am entitled to say that certainly it has lost the title of Mother of Parliaments which it claims. Why is it that we show this resentment? Why is that we are opposed to it so much? Why is it that it goes against our grain? The reason is a very simple one and it is this—that by this measure you are not giving any protection to the innocent, that the innocent are likely to be persecuted, that this is an engine of oppression and of repression of legitimate movements in this country and it has been abused in the past and there is every likelihood of its being abused in the future”.

While speaking on the Ordinance, he would not lose sight of the dangers therein:

“I owe allegiance to the King Emperor. What do I get in return for it, what do I claim in return for it? Protection of my liberty, my life and my property. My liberty should not be taken away without a judicial trial in a proper court where I have all the right to



Mrs. SAROJINI NAIDU and Miss DINA JINNAH
(bespectacled) snapped at a Bombay polling station.
"The first general election contested by the League."

defend myself. Under this Ordinance, if I were a citizen of Calcutta, I should have to transfer my allegiance to Mr. Tegart, the Commissioner, because he is the only man who can give me protection and not His Majesty's High Court or his Majesty's Courts''.

Whatever subjects came up for discussion before the House, Mr. Jinnah took very active part in the proceedings. The special Laws Repeals Bill, the Indian Finance Bill and Maternity Benefits Bill were fully discussed by him. He gave support to the resolution for establishing a Supreme Court for India.

In the Central Assembly Mr. Jinnah always took an independent attitude and never supported one particular party at all times. He had supported either the Liberals or the Swarajists. He at last recognised that he could not be going on like this and found himself the leader of a centre party. At the end of 1925, the Swarajist party split into two, one favouring responsible co-operation and the other bent upon obstruction.

Once again there appeared the good self of Mr. Jinnah to mediate and effect an union. He wanted to unite all or most of the existing parties. In case this failed he wanted to create such a new Nationalist or Central Party, which by and by would envelop both the Liberals and the Swarajists. With a view to discuss this possibility out, he convened a meeting and tried

his best to form a new Party. His views are best expressed in his own statement:

"My own opinion is that a party, on the lines of the Independent Party in the Assembly should be formed, outside, in the country because I know that a large bulk of opinion in the country does not approve either the policy and programme of the Swaraj Party and what is its practised policy or the programme of the Liberal Party and what is practised by them. I strongly hold that the time has come when a definite organisation should be started, which will stand midway between the two, so that we may level up the Liberals and level down the Swarajists. Until the public at large realise that, at present it is the only feasible and practicable way open, I fear the Government is not likely to be affected. As I have already said, empty and important threats will only give the Government a handle to resort to reactionary measures and a ruthless policy of repression under the name of law and order. The only use that we can make of the legislatures is, to create strong and powerful oppositions to the Government. Standing there as the people's party and backed up by the people throughout the country, we must carry on our struggle inch by inch. In the meantime, we must organise and train up our electorates not

necessarily as framed under the rules of the Government of India Act but by our natural electorates ”.

His has been a very brilliant political career. In the admiring words of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, he is endowed with “the triple assets of a magnetic presence, an impressive delivery, and a voice while lacking in volume has an arresting timbre. He has the cogent force of a brilliant advocate and at Round Table Conferences, his genius finds the fullest scope, his extraordinary powers of persuasion, his luminous exposition, his searching argument, and his impeccable judgment are revealed at their best when he graces a committee with his august presence ”.

In all public matters Mr. Jinnah took a very liberal view. He argued every point and judged every issue in his own lights. His discussion of a resolution, his support for a party or his opposition to the Government were all actuated by the sincere attitude of his in the best interests of the country.

‘It is this transparent sincerity of purpose and candour of utterance, this willingness to consider and pay regard to the opinions of others and to adopt them as his own when he was convinced, this toleration for people with other views that characterised the part he played in the Bombay Representatives’ Conference and in all his other enterprises as the “Ambassador of Unity” ’.

his change of attitude: "There is no escaping the fact that communalism does exist in this country. By mere sentiment and time it cannot be removed. Nationalism cannot be created by merely having mixed electorates".

It was after this pronouncement that Mr. Jinnah, early in 1927, published his famous Fourteen Points. These demands might not have appealed to all. But Mr. Jinnah did give concreteness to the Muslim demands whereas the Congress demand for Swaraj was and is still vague and a jugglery of words. The hairsplitting and vehement criticism levelled against the Points by the Hindu press was speedily driving him towards Muslims.

His Fourteen Points and the hot reception accorded to them are too well known. But the history of the events which brought into existence these famous Points is still unwritten and unknown. It is now imperative to record it here.

During the discussion on the budget in the 1927 session of the Central Assembly, Mr. Jinnah expressed his willingness to agree to a compromise on the issue of communal representation on the basis of joint electorates and having obtained the signatures of twenty-eight Muslim members, he sent to Mr. Gandhi a Memorandum of Muslim demands on the basis of the principle of joint electorates. He also expressed his willingness to go on a tour of the whole country along with Pandit Motilal Nehru, Malaviyaji and Gandhiji to impress on the

people the importance of this fact and obtain their support for it. Mr. Gandhi at once accepted this proposal. After some hesitation, Motilalji too agreed. But the confirmed communalist, that dreamer of Hindu Raj, Malaviyaji refused to accept the Memorandum in the form in which it was presented to him. Thus ended another attempt. Mr. Jinnah was prepared to sacrifice some of his life-long convictions and purchase Hindu-Muslim Unity at any cost but the Hindu fanatics would not budge an inch. Had the Congress accepted his Fourteen Points then and there, the Hindu-Muslim problem would have been solved once and for all and Indian history written differently. But Congress chose to abide by Pandit Malaviya's decision.

This was a rude shock for the Ambassador of Unity. The announcement of the all-White Simon Commission put fire into his feelings. He organised the most successful demonstration against it in Bombay and thus brought Hindus and Muslim once again together.

Then came the Round Table Conferences, to which Mr. Jinnah was an invitee. Whitehall succeeded in getting a crowd of Indian leaders and successfully played their trump card of *divide et impera*. Here again the Ambassador of Unity could not but work for a rapprochement. But once again the same irreconcilable attitude of Hindu leaders torpedoed all his attempts. He went a long way to bring about an union

even at the risk of being misunderstood by everyone. This was how the *Manchester Guardian* described Mr Jinnah then. "Mr Jinnah's position at the Round Table Conference was unique. The Hindus thought he was a Muslim communalist, the Muslims took him to be pro-Hindu, the Princes deemed him to be too democratic. The Britishers considered him a rabid extremist—with the result that he was everywhere but nowhere. None wanted him." Mr Gandhi at first was willing to give a blank cheque to Muslims provided they would subscribe to the Congress programme of complete independence. Mr Jinnah confronted Mr Gandhi with half a dozen different definitions of independence which he had given on several occasions. No one in India—not even his *chelas* knew—where Mr Gandhi drew the line between 'Dominion Status' and 'independence'. Among themselves they talked a language that was a kind of shorthand to each other. Naturally the Mahatma was checkmated. Even for this blank cheque based on this vague definition of independence, there was opposition. The discordant note was sounded by a menagerie of Hindu leaders led by Pandit Malaviya. After that Gandhiji himself played his game of setting up Muslims against Muslims.

To say the least, Mr Jinnah, who was hoping against hope to bring about a union was disgusted. At a later period, describing his feelings during the Round Table Conference days, he said "At that time I knew no pride and used to beg from the

Congress. I worked so incessantly to bring about a rapprochement that a newspaper remarked that Mr. Jinnah is never tired of the Hindu-Muslim Unity. But I received the shock of my life at the meeting of the Round Table Conference. In the face of danger, the Hindu sentiment, the Hindu mind, the Hindu attitude, led me to the conclusion that there was no hope of unity. I felt very pessimistic about my country. The position was most unfortunate.....I felt disappointed and so depressed that I decided to settle down in London".

This was in 1930 and Mr. Jinnah stayed away in England for four years. He was even to become a Member of the House of Commons; but then his love for the mother country did not permit him to adopt any other alien land as his own.

COME-BACK

IN THE YEAR 1934, Mr Jinnah, after three years of self imposed exile in England, "found that the Muslims were in the greatest danger", returned to India and to the leadership of Indian Muslims. This period especially was a tragic one for the Muslims. They were a motley crowd without discipline, decorum or a definite goal. Maulana Mohamed Ali was no more. Having gone to attend the Round Table Conference, he never returned to this slave country, Palestine's grave yard claimed his body. Dr Ansari was in the Congress. The Muslim League existed only in name. Besides, there were two organizations of Muslims, the League and the Muslim Conference. Politically Muslims were nowhere. Every man with some tact became a self styled leader, exploited the Muslims and got away with his booty. It was at this time that Mr Jinnah staged a come back. He had an arduous task before him. Organising the indisciplined mob fell

to his lot. Muslims had the Communal Award and non-Muslims were opposed to it. There were riots throughout the country. The Government Act of 1935 was in the making. The Congress machinations to entice the Muslims were ready and poor unsuspecting Muslims believed all that glistened was gold.

Rejuvenating the League was his first concern. So under his magnetic leadership, the League was strengthened, organised and built on a sound basis. He was acclaimed as the chief leader of the Muslims, their Qaede Azam.

Mr. Jinnah's leadership is anything but sentimental and is absolutely free from the weakness for claptrap. There are leaders who may not quail before the mouth of cannon, but would quake and shudder at the very thought of losing the applause of the public and would be led by the unthinking masses rather than leading them. They are people who would simply play to the gallery and Mr. Jinnah has never stooped to the level of that sort of leadership. He would rather have his principles judged by reason than by sentiments. He has nothing to do with the emotional aspect of appeal. He would place his cards before his audience and strengthen them by arguments. He would have his case rest on cold logic. It is admitted by great Congress leaders that Mr. Jinnah's bold speech in the Subjects Committee of the Nagpur Congress in opposition to Non-cooperation

was so forceful, so logically argued out that even the devoted followers of the Mahatma were swept off their feet. But victory was not his. He failed because he would not appeal to sentiments and emotions. For amid the pin-drop silence which followed Mr. Jinnah's daring speech, Mr. Gandhi put up Maulana Mohamed Ali, who based his speech on emotion. That was a victory for the sentimentalist, and Mr. Jinnah did not carry the day.

And in 1934 when he undertook the organisation of Muslims Mr. Jinnah did not want to base his leadership on mere emotions. Logic and reasoning were the keynote on which he wished to build up the structure. He had never entertained beliefs in 'Jais' and 'Zindabads'. Consequently when he was taken in long processions and received by deafening cheers, he was neither elated nor thought too much of him—he was too seasoned a democrat to view it that way. And even today if he permits them, it is more for the sake of the masses who like them and want them than as a tribute to his person. He has often said: "The right royal welcome you have given me is not for me. I know that this means that you are giving your seal of sanction to the policy of the All-India Muslim League".

Mr. Jinnah took in right earnest the consolidation of Muslims. He toured India and delivered a number of inspiring speeches. His comprehensive

survey showed that League was both looking ahead and planning the present. Once again the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity in him asserted itself and he found that only a Congress-League agreement could bring the desired result. Consequently he wrote to the Congress president, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and expressed a desire to meet him for finding out a way for communal solution.

Mr. Jinnah and Rajen Babu met again and again. The talks started on January 23, 1935 and were continued with a short break upto 1st March. But the talks failed. Dr. Rajendra Prasad in a statement on the failure of the unity talks said among other things:

“We had a long and frank discussion on the many complicated issues involved, and we have certainly been able to understand each other's point of view fully. We are both equally anxious to find a way out of the tangle, and if our efforts have failed it has been due to no lack of appreciation of each other's difficulties and we are both equally sad at the outcome”.

In the middle of July, 1935, the Government of India Act was passed by Parliament and received the Royal Assent. Congress historian, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, writes :

“Only, we feel tempted to quote a short extract from a speech of a member of the House of

Commons with which the debates virtually terminated. On June 5, 1935, Major Milner, speaking on the India Bill, compared Mr Churchill and Sir Samuel Hoare as the villain and hero of a play. The hero (Hoare), said he, had beaten the villain. 'He will doubtless finally dispose of him to-day (5-6-1935) without any loss of blood'. 'Then', declared Major Milner, 'the two protagonists will be found to leave the stage-door arm in arm. Verily, this is the drama enacted in Parliament not only in 1935 but in 1920 as well. While it is broadly true that there is an ultra-conservative section in the English Parliament which in popular parlance is known as the die hard party, the fact remains that ultimately the object of all the parties is the same, namely to evolve a picture which as the *Manchester Guardian* once urged, looks like Swaraj to India and like British Raj to England. For this purpose the different parties stage a quarrel on the floor of the Houses of Parliament some appearing inclined to give, others appearing to resist and the former prevailing upon the moderate elements in India to accept whatever is possible of being given under the circumstances, as the latter would not allow them to go even thus far. The party in power plays the part of the hero, and the party in opposition plays the part of the villain. The two stage a quarrel within the walls of

Westminster, and once they leave the drama they congratulate each other on the magnificent, realistic turn given to their feigned differences. Between the two, India is befooled'."

The beginning of 1936 kept the minds of Muslims anxious by the Shahidgunj dispute. It was a ticklish episode and every day Muslims who went to offer prayers at the Shahidgunj Mosque were arrested. No settlement was in sight. No religious leader came forward to solve this important Muslim problem. Indian Muslims sunk in despair were deeply agitated. At last a saviour came. Unlike Moulvi leaders of India, a westernized gentleman, Mr. Jinnah came to the rescue! He went to Lahore and prior to that he had laid down that all the Movements be suspended as a condition precedent to any attempt by him towards a settlement. He went, he saw and he conquered. Muslim India congratulated him on his boldness in taking up the question at a time when no other leader could venture to take up the responsibility. Mr. Jinnah got another feather in his cap. He was slowly entering the hearts of the masses.

In the middle of February 1936, at Delhi a conference of Muslim leaders was held under the presidency of H. H. the Aga Khan to define Muslim attitude in Indian politics. Sir Fazli Husain, Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, Maulana Shoukat Ali and many other leaders participated. Mr. Jinnah too

was present but he did not take part in the deliberations. H. H. the Aga Khan reviewed the whole history of Indian Muslims, how the responsibility for the Indian Mutiny (1857) was laid at the doors of Muslims, how disgusted with it, Sir Syed concentrated on education instead of on politics and how, except a handful few, all Muslims stood aloof from the Congress. The Muslim League came into being in 1906, and ten years later it gathered such strength as to enter into an agreement with the Congress. In 1916, as for the Lucknow Pact—hats off to Mr Jinnah—Hindu leaders assured Muslim leaders of their religious and cultural integrity and readily agreed to separate representation through separate electorates. Unfortunately the co-operation did not last long. He pleaded for the immediate relief for the weak and the down-trodden. Referring to the question of amalgamating the Muslim Conference and the Muslim League the Aga Khan said it should be left to the decision of Muslims elected to the provincial legislatures. His statement, *inter alia*, brought out these facts. They knew Provincial Autonomy in Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, Madras, Bombay and Assam would spell ruin for Muslims if worked in a communal spirit, but they hoped that better sense would prevail and all communities would work for the betterment of their Motherland, instead of against each other and in return, they only wanted to have the satisfaction of being a majority community in the Frontier Province, Punjab, Sind

and Bengal knowing full well that their majority in the Punjab and Bengal was only nominal, while in the Frontier Province, on account of its geographical position and economic condition, it was not likely to have much of real Provincial Autonomy. Thus the Muslims were not improving their communal position in any way, but still they were for this political advance solely from national motives. Their objective, therefore, in the matter of representation was to secure such a position as would enable them to have a majority in the Legislature of some of the Provinces. They succeeded in the case of three provinces, but failed in the case of Bengal.

In the case of Central Legislature they retained their proportion to a certain extent but with the extinction of the official bloc, from the communal point of view they were not going to be as strong in the future as in the past. But here again, their motive for political advance was national, not communal. They failed to secure a clear enunciation of their undoubted rights to adequate representation in the Services in the Provinces, but have been feeling that their case was so strong that no Government claiming to be civilized would be in a position to refuse their just demands. They were not elated by the successes achieved, nor were they depressed by the failures suffered. Success and failure in life and particularly in political life were inevitable and regardless of them they should go on. India was now entering a new

phase of political life. Indian Muslims were ready to take their due share in developing political life in the best interests of the country.

On April 12, 1938, at Bombay, the Muslim League session was held under the presidency of Sir Wazir Hasan. It was the 24th session and Mr. Jinnah too was present. In the course of his address, the president-elect, Sir Wazir Hasan appealed for the amalgamation of the Muslim Conference and the Muslim League and said:

"I appeal to all Muslims, and particularly to the members of the Muslim Conference, to consider seriously the question of amalgamating the two organizations. I make this appeal in full trust and confidence that the desired fusion of the two bodies will soon be a *fait accompli*".

Referring to the Communal Award, he said: "I feel that I cannot leave the question of the Award without expressing my sense of deep pain at the attitude which the Congress adopted towards it.

"The Congress in 1927 had failed to rise to the occasion when it rejected Mr. Jinnah's offer of joint electorates, subject to certain conditions, and the Congress did the same in the year 1934. The Congress failed to realize the far-reaching consequences of its policy of neutrality in the matter of the Award. To

my mind, this policy has rendered more difficult the task of working out a programme of united and concerted action for the attainment of self-government for our country. Political problems cannot be solved by attempts at phrase-making, however brilliant a piece of intellectual gymnastics the phrase may appear to be. It should always be borne in mind that India is a continent. It should further be borne in mind that the Hindus and the Muslims inhabiting this vast continent are not two communities but should be considered two nations in many respects. So that when the British Parliament is withholding the inauguration of full responsible government in this country it is resisting two great nations of the world and not only two communities. To describe them for political purposes as two communities is really creating an illusion".

Mr. Jinnah moved resolutions criticising the new constitution as entirely unworkable and that Provincial Autonomy scheme might be utilised for what it was worth despite the most objectionable features contained therein which rendered real control nugatory and that Federal Scheme was most reactionary, retrograde, injurious and fatal to the vital interests of British India and was totally unacceptable.

Moving the resolution Mr. Jinnah said that in the new constitution there was only two per cent

ensuring whole-hearted and willing co-operation of the minorities who must be made to feel that they could rely upon the majority with a complete sense of confidence and security.

Defining the main work in the Legislatures, the Manifesto concluded :

"The main principle on which the representatives in various legislatures were expected to work would be, (1) that the present Provincial Constitution and the proposed Central Constitution should be replaced immediately by democratic and full self-government and (2) that in the mean time representatives of the Muslim League in the various legislatures would utilise the legislatures in order to extract the maximum benefit out of the constitution for the uplift of the people in various spheres of national life".

A detailed programme was drafted where the scheme of work was defined. It must be remembered that it was the first general election of the kind which was contested by the Muslim League. And Mr. Jinnah was the head now who gave shape to the draft.

A Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board was formed and prominent and influential leaders from all provinces were invited to serve on the Board.

Soon after the publication of the Manifesto, critics began labelling it as extremely communal.

co-operation with others. On the contrary, it is part and parcel of our basic principle that we are free and ready to co-operate with any group or party from the very inception inside the Legislature, if the basic principles are determined by common consent."

As if the Provincial Scheme was relished by the people of India, the British Government and their mouth-piece in India, the Viceroy contemplated yoking India under an All-India Federation. In May 1936, the Viceroy in a broadcast talk made this out. The Congress opposed the Federal Scheme tooth and nail. There was not one single party in India which would support it. The Government tried the Moderates and they also condemned it. As a last resort they placed it before the Princes. Even they said 'no good'. The League, since the beginning was terribly opposed to it. Mr. Jinnah was vehement in condemning it. He said he would fight it to the last ditch. In a statement he explained:

"The Government of India Act is a result brought about not with the help of India. It was enacted in the teeth of opposition in India and contrary to the solemn declaration made by his Majesty's Government before the first Round Table Conference, that only those proposals which received the greatest common measure of agreement of the people of India would be placed before Parliament".



QAEDE AZAM

*"Let us cut India into two, Hindu
India and Muslim India."*

GANDHIJI

*"Cut me into two before you
cut India."*

He pleaded for its thorough withdrawal. He said it must 'go—lock, stock and barrel'. Seeing no public opinion in its favour, the Federal Scheme was not kept in abeyance but was given an honourable burial.

Now that the Muslim League had decided to contest elections, Mr. Jinnah with characteristic foresight, considered it necessary that there existed no dissensions amongst Muslims. He went from province to province. At Lucknow he said: It was wrong to say that the present moves of the Muslims were communal. By uniting 80 millions of Muslims under one banner and making them patriotic, progressive and nationalistic the League was making the greatest contribution towards the freedom of the country. He emphasised the object of the League as being that no individual clique or group of Muslims would, in future, be able to drag the community along the wrong path to suit its ends.

In conclusion he said that a line had to be drawn against those persons who were beyond redemption—the group of job-hunters and self-seekers, who thought of nothing but their personal aggrandisement at the expense of the community. Such persons should receive no quarter with the League. In this connexion, he reached Calcutta to unite two groups of Muslims, the United Muslim Party led by the Nawab of Dacca and the Krishak Proja Party of which the leader was Mr. Fazlul Haq.

These parties were daggers drawn at one another, Mr. Jinnah by his masterly way of persuasion brought about a compromise.

He made a tour into several provinces to familiarize the Muslim League and to impress upon the Muslim public that the League would safeguard their interests in the Legislatures. Wherever he went, he was listened to with rapt attention both by Hindus and Muslims. He proceeded to Nagpur where two rival sections of Muslims were quarrelling among themselves over their fourteen seats in the Assembly.

Then he went again to Calcutta to inaugurate the election campaign. He regretted that the Congress were interfering with the affairs of Muslims by setting up Muslim candidates in opposition to the League candidates. He also referred to the speech of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress President, in which he had said that 'there were only two parties in India (viz) the Congress and the Government and that others must line up with them' and added:

"There is a third party, the Muslims. We are not going to be dictated to by anybody."

Since then Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru began a wordy warfare with Mr. Jinnah. The Congress knew the great influence Mr. Jinnah commanded and feared that if left alone, he would turn the Congress inside out. And Mr. Jinnah for his part

refused to be brow-beaten. But when he saw that his activities were being opposed by the Congress and their president, he said:

“The urgent question facing every nationalist in India to-day is how to create unity out of diversity and not fight each other. I do not wish to take any notice of this flippant criticism because it is no use indulging in controversies amongst ourselves. The thing is that we should try and understand each other.”

He regretted—that inspite of the fact that the League's policy and programme were not anti-national and the assurance that they were ready and willing to co-operate with any group of a progressive and independent nature—he found much interference from the Hindus. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, ‘who was torn between Benares and Moscow’ claimed that he had a large body of Muslim followers. Bhai Parmanand challenged this claim and said: “As regards the question of larger number of Muslims being members of the Congress, I have to say many things. In the first place I doubt this statement very much. In the second place I do not attach much value to such membership because I know many a case in which one man has paid a hundred or two hundred rupees from his pocket and a proportionate number of members is put down on the list”. May be he was right or wrong. andit Nehru did not dare to contest every seat

from the Muslim electorate but confined to one or two seats in Bombay, Bengal and the Punjab. Of about 280 Muslim seats in the Legislative Assemblies in Muslim majority provinces, more than two hundred were captured by members of the All-India Muslim League. Even though the Congress knew that the League's policy was a full-blooded national one, they would not acknowledge the truth. That was why Mr. Jinnah said:

"The Congress have not the monopoly, nor are they the sole custodians, of Indian nationalism. That Muslims were national to the core was very well evident from their attitude in the Central Legislature. But for the services of the Independent Party and the majority of Muslims voting in their favour the Congress Party could not have carried a single measure. Yet the Independent Party was accused. Only because of this mentality that even a large bulk of patriotic nationalistic Hindus chose to remain outside the Congress."

Mr. Jinnah was accused time and again as being a communalist. He retorted, "the League does not believe in assuming a non-communal label and can't pass off as a national organisation by taking in a few adventurers and credulous persons belonging to other communities, who have no backing of their people". With regard to Mr. Jawaharlal's ranking Mr. Jinnah with Bhai Parmanand, Mr. Jinnah said:

“There’s a vital difference between Bhai Parmanand and me; he stands for Hindu Raj whereas I stand for a full democratic responsible Government for all the people of India.”

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RAM RAJ

THE Congress' compromise with Britain and their taking up the reins of the Government is an interesting story. With the passage of the Government of India Act, elections were held in all the eleven Indian provinces and Congress won and formed Ministries in seven of them. Thus 'Provincial Autonomy' began to function. The patriotic Congress, the same Congress which boasted so long of wrecking the constitution, sat down to work it.

The left-wingers amongst Congressmen, headed by Pandit Nehru were opposed to Congress accepting office. But they were won over. The fact was Mr. Gandhi and the Congress (which is mainly a Hindu body) had long foreseen that in the Western form of democracy lay the fulfilment of their hopes of permanent All India dominance. All their efforts and energies had, therefore, been bent towards securing for India a completely democratic form of Government and they realised that the new constitution would bring their goal immeasurably nearer if it could be worked on the

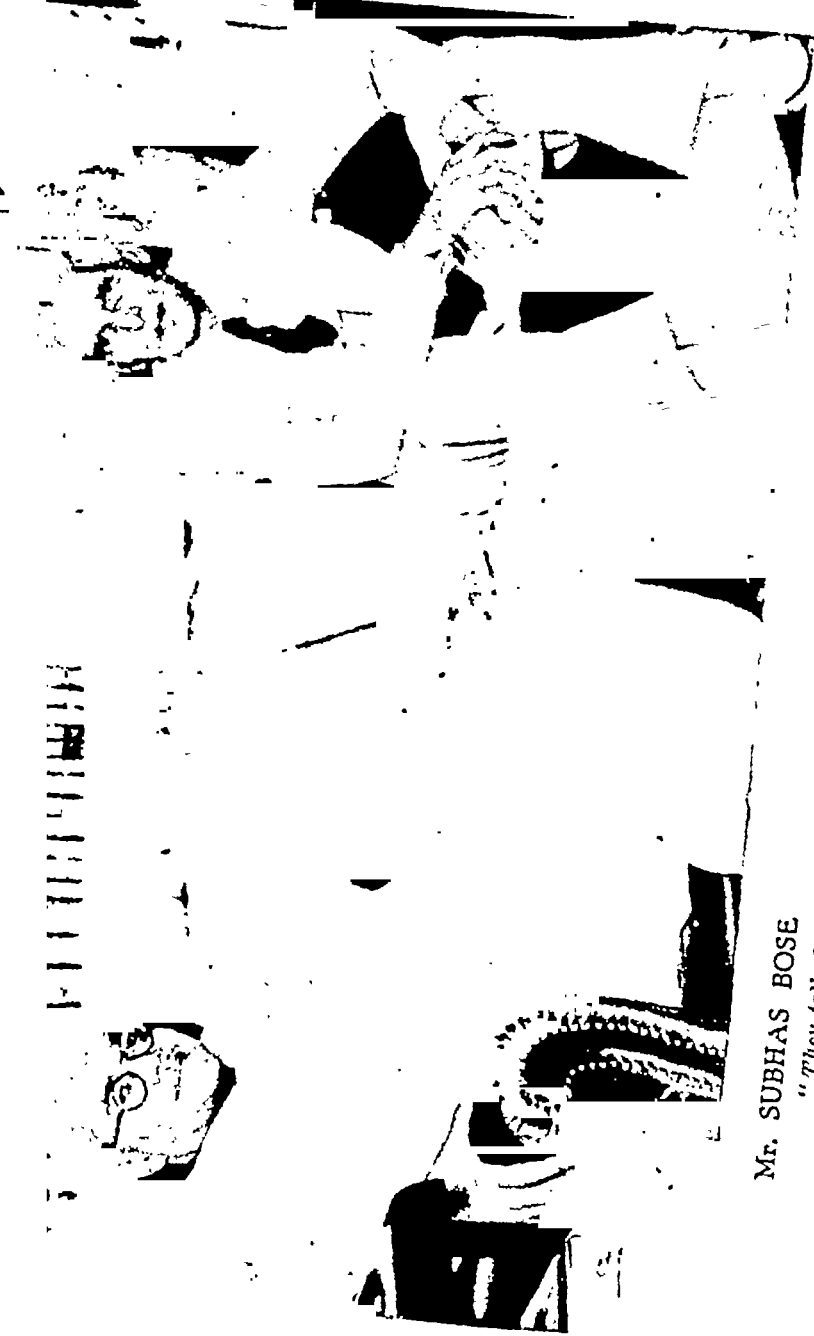
lines chalked out by their leader and the Working Committee.

Mr. Gandhi invented a face-saving device. 'The Congress played their trump card. They refused to accept office. To the consternation of the Muslims and other minorities, over-night the Viceroy and the Governors became suppliants. What would the Congress have them do? Give us the undertaking that you will not exercise your special powers and we will accept office. Hastily, the constitutional guardians of minority and other rights jettisoned their trust and, amidst much mutual appreciation of each other's 'statemanship', the Congress and the British Government came into political alliance. A kind of gentleman's agreement was arrived at between the Congress Ministries and the Governors. The Congress had a walk-over and so agreed to carry on His Majesty's Government.

'Surprised by such easy victories, the Congress became intoxicated with power. The Working Committee arrogated to itself the position of a parallel central Government to whom the provincial Governments were responsible. Regional dictators were appointed, and the ministers were entirely subject to their orders generally, and no provincial legislation could be enacted without their approval. They then proceeded to stifle even the little opposition that existed. Having dealt with the British, they now dealt with the Muslims'.

But one wonderful thing about the working of the Congress Governments was that the Ministries were not responsible to the electorate or to the four-anna Congress member but to a Fascist Grand Council known as Congress High Command, who held the whip hand and whose decision in all administrative matters was final.

The Congress High Command was, however, a puppet in Mr. Gandhi's hand. Nest of Gandhiji and his lieutenants was Wardha, where this naked fakir ruled supreme. Unless Gandhiji dies, quits politics or commits suicide, the Congress have no legal power to question his authority. He is all-in-all in the organisation, which though calls itself a democratic body, in reality dances to the tunes of this puny-looking Mahatma, the dictator, whose wish is law; for, in all Congress disputes Gandhiji has the last word. So much so he is the generalissimo, who controls each and every move of the Congress. He commands complete subservience, nay 'heart obedience' from all and sundry. Even men like Dr. Rajendra Prasad confessed to have followed him 'blindly'. His religious fanaticism is too well known. He is a pre-historic religious *Sadhu* who due to some Providential miscalculation, is born three thousand years late. He himself has written: "It will be seen that for me there are no politics but religion. They subserve religion.....The Hindu mind is myself. Surely I do not live amidst Hindus to know the



Mr. SUBHAS BOSE

"They talked and talked, talked over a cup of tea, talked across the dinner table, and talked at length till past midnight."

QAEDE AZAM



PANDIT NEHRU

"There are only two parties, the Congress and the Government."

QAEDE AZAM

"No. There is a third party, the Muslims."

League, it would become equally powerful. What Mr. Jinnah said then is true to-day. The League is certainly as popular and as powerful as the Congress.

Mr. Jinnah was slowly endearing himself to the masses by his whirl-wind tour in all parts of the country. Everywhere he appealed to the Muslims to unite and pointed out how the Congress organisation was Hindu-ridden and how the Muslim community was faced with disruption from within while it had to fight two aggressive forces—the Government and the Congress. He explained how plans were being laid to divide Muslims and that if Hindu Raj were to succeed, Muslims would be reduced to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water—as Negroes were reduced in America.

Speaking to the students of Aligarh University he said how the League was slowly gathering strength and how it succeeded in a short time by dislodging from leadership of Muslims, two undesirable elements—the reactionary puppets of the bureaucracy and the Maulavis “who were selling the honour of the community cheap”. He said he could not tolerate communal tyranny adding: “I am proud to be a communalist, if it signifies safeguarding of Muslim rights”.

At the special Calcutta League session, Mr. Jinnah deplored how there were many communal riots and how the blame was being

thrown on the Mussalmans. He said there was a great political awakening and an insatiable desire to come under the banner of the Muslim League. He made it clear: "I welcome a policy of live and let live. I welcome an understanding on matters, economic and political; but we cannot surrender, submerge or submit to the dictates or the ukases of the High Command of the Congress, which is developing into a totalitarian and authoritative caucus functioning under the name of the Working Committee and aspiring to the position of a shadow cabinet of a future Republic". He said even though the Congress leaders were in correspondence with him to end the communal tussle they were really aiming at annihilating the League. Their resolutions were more paper resolutions and that was all. He exhorted the Muslims to organise. The Nationalist press were one in condemning his speeches. And within the Congress, anybody who was somebody considered it his patriotic duty to hurl invectives at Mr. Jinnah.

The Congress Ministries were pursuing a policy of ruthless oppression of the minorities. Their contention was that those who were not with them were against them. In Mr. Jinnah's words 'an India-wide attack on the Muslims was launched. In the five Muslim provinces every attempt was made to defeat the Muslim-led coalition Ministries and by offering local political leaders ministries and other inducements, Congress Ministries came into power in at least two


more provinces, N.W.F.P. and Assam. In the six Hindu provinces a *kulturkampf* was inaugurated. Attempts were made to have *Bande Mataram*, the Congress party song recognised as the National Anthem, the party flag recognised as the National Flag, and the real National language Urdu supplanted by Hindi. Everywhere aggression commenced and complaints poured in such force into the Muslim League's Central Office, that the Pirpur Committee was appointed to investigate these grievances. Such overwhelming evidence was collected that the Muslims, despairing of the Viceroy and the Governors ever taking action to protect them, were forced to ask for a Royal Commission to investigate their grievances'.

Usually madness has no methods, but Congress power-madness had enough. Their Ministers rode high horses and followed a ruthless policy definitely detrimental to minority interests. They considered themselves as the sole monarchs of India even with the limited powers which the 'provincial autonomy' gave them. Towards Muslims and Muslim Leaguers in particular, their attitude was indescribably heartless. Muslim culture and Muslim liberties were in peril. Muslims were prohibited from calling *Azan*, Gandhiji's photos were hung in schools and Muslim boys were urged to pay respect to them. Mosques, on several occasions, were desecrated with the bodies of pigs and other animals. A policy of supplanting Urdu was envi

Sanskritised Hindi, camouflaged as Hindustani, was pushed to the fore-front. Common words like *madrasah* were replaced by jaw-breaking terms like *Vidya Mandir*. Soon the *Sadre Congress* became *Rashtrapati*, Central Provinces became *Mahakushal*. Protests were of no avail. At a Conference of the Congress Premiers, they even went to the extent of gagging the Muslim press for ventilating legitimate grievances. Country-wide communal riots broke out and the Congress at every finding put the blame on Muslims.

The minorities grew sick of the Congress rule and Muslims were desperate. The fact was the Hindus believed that by accepting office, they became the dictators of India. They claimed that it was their rule. They believed in sharing the booty. They felt that they were entitled to the reward for having worn Khadi cap and shouting *Gandhi kja*. A reputed Congress politician like Mr Satyamurthi boasted that Congress rule was decidedly Ram Raj. But Muslims and other minorities were disposed to think of it and grew sick of it as Ravan Raj. It was a well-planned totalitarian regime manipulated to crush the minorities. They employed the same measures which their British masters used against them. The press was gagged, demonstrators were lathi-charged and Satyagrahis were sent to prison. The cushioned chairs at the secretariat turned their heads. Non-violence was given a burial and only gun-shots and lathies greeted the political opponents.

So much so that every one was sick of the Congress Ravan Raj and all were praying for its speedy termination. The prayers were heard and soon after the breaking up of war, the Congress went out of office. In double-quick time Mr. Jinnah called for the celebration of a "Deliverance Day" and Day of Thanksgiving as a mark of relief that the Congress regime had at last ceased to function. Mr. Arthur Moore, the former editor of the *Statesman*, commenting upon Mr. Jinnah's statement said: "For swift and sound decision at a critical moment this leadership may be compared in its own Indian sphere with Mr. Churchill's speech when Russia was attacked by Germany. The Congress was completely taken aback. It appeared like a boxer that has been wound". He further proceeded: "Other parties were equally surprised, and the impression created was intensified by the response throughout Muslim India. The 'Day' was observed almost in a religious spirit. There were no riots and deep thanksgiving was expressed in responsible accents. It soon became clear to Governors and the rest of us (myself included) who had handed out bouquets to the Congress Governments that these Governments had been piling up for themselves amongst the Muslim villagers, a dissatisfaction, distrust and resentment which we had not understood.... In one province they could not produce a Muslim Minister at all and in two provinces they could only find Muslims who did not enjoy the regard



mistaken. The knees that never bent before a John Bull would not bend before a Bania. He went on organising Muslim India and consolidating its position. They hated him now. They found that if this was not nipped in the bud their machinations would be useless, their day-dream of a Hindu Raj would collapse like a house of cards, and their much-boosted Ram Raj would be a ten days' wonder. After deep calculation they found that opposition would be the best weapon. They employed it with much gusto. The Congress President was the first to condemn Mr Jinnah. Then the whole organisation followed suit. The Congress-subsidised press took it up vigorously. He was condemned in leaders, leaderettes, statements, articles and even in letters to the press. The cartoonists found a ready topic in Mr Jinnah to blacken their white card boards and to hold him in public ridicule. Soon the Congress realised that Mr Jinnah was too big to fall a victim or be crushed by their mad opposition. Like Brutus he was so well armed in honesty, that it passed by him like an idle wind which he respected not. He was blackmailed and maligned. He was called a religious fanatic, he was dubbed a communalist. Mr Jinnah paid no regard to their calumnies and criticisms. On the contrary he accepted the 'encomiums' willingly and said "I am a fanatic, I am a communalist, if they mean safeguarding of Muslim interests." In this game also the Congress found that they were

beaten hollow. They ignored him; but found it to their disadvantage. They opposed him; there also they were unsuccessful. As a last resort all the Congress big wigs met in a Conference and took a definite attitude towards Mr. Jinnah. This time the weapon they employed was flattery. Ignore first; if you don't succeed, suppress; and if you fail there too, submit—that seemed to be the clear-cut policy of the Gandhi-dominated Congress.

Gandhiji set the ball rolling. He began to recount the great qualities of head and heart of Mr. Jinnah in his weekly *Harijan*, which was devoted to a discussion of politico-something-or-other, wherein Gandhiji dilated upon all topics under the sun, from cabbages to kings, from pin to a camel.

All along he was a silent witness to Congress atrocities on Muslims. He was kept informed of the Muslim reactions. He was aware how the Pirpur Committee went on an All-India tour and gathered over-whelming evidences of Congress Goonda Raj. As a matter of fact the Pirpur Report was presented to him by a Muslim at his very hut. But he did not lift his little finger in protest. Evidently he was satisfied with the way the Congress ruled and behaved and hence he blessed them with both hands.

Mr. Jinnah felt that the drifting away of one community from the other as a result of Congress

commence unity talks. Once again the initiative for the Unity talks was taken by Mr. Jinnah. But one thing he made clear to Gandhiji: "We have reached a stage when no doubt should be left. You recognise the All-India Muslim League as the authoritative and representative organisation of Muslims in India and on the other hand you represent the Congress and the Hindus throughout the country. It is only on that basis we can proceed further and devise machinery of approach". This was a shock for Gandhiji who all these days wanted to pose as the representative of the Muslims and Hindus alike. He knew that by identifying with the Congress activities, he had lost the last jot of confidence he enjoyed among the Muslims. He also realised that since Mr. Jinnah took the reorientation of the League, it had become powerful and also the chief spokesman of Muslim India.

But he would not accept Mr. Jinnah's suggestion. He played the old game. He wrote to say: "So far as I am concerned, just as on the Hindu-Muslim question, I was guided by Dr. Ansari, now that he is no more in our midst, I have accepted Maulana Azad as my guide". This was a deep and sinister move intended to cloud the issues. And it was ridiculous to suggest that Maulana Azad was the guide to Congress on all communal questions. This Maulana Azad, inspite of his very distinguished and scholarly genius, had forfeited the confidence of the Muslims. Being a member of the Congress Parliamentary Board, he preferred not only to be

a spectator, but an abettor when Congress rode roughshod over Muslim interests. Mr Jinnah realised this very well and wrote back to Gandhiji referring to past events

"I find there is no change in your attitude and mentality when you say you will be guided by the Maulana, as Dr Ansari is no more. If you pursue this line, you will be repeating the same tragedy, as you did when you expressed your helplessness because Dr Ansari, holding pronounced and diehard views, did not agree and you had to say you were willing, but what could you do? This happened, as you know, before you went to the First Round Table Conference. At the Conference the tragedy was repeated by you when you seemed to be willing to accept provisionally certain terms but you there also expressed you were helpless, as Hindus were unwilling and you, as representing the Congress, would have no objection if the Hindus and Muslims came to an agreement". This was just like boarding the lion in its own den. And Gandhiji wanted to wriggle out of the situation. He said "You expect me to be able to speak on behalf of the Congress and other Hindus throughout the country. I am afraid I cannot fulfil the test. I cannot represent either the Congress or the Hindus". And the fact then was that Mr Gandhi was considered by the Hindus as the "avatar" and the Congress organisation was still a plaything in his hands.

After this exchange of letters the unity talks commenced. The dictator of the Congress went to Malabar Hill to checkmate Mr. Jinnah. Alas! the conversation between Hindu Gandhi and Muslim Jinnah led nowhere. They swapped principles, lapsed into high political verbiage, advanced and parried—but all to no effect. It was followed by a communal parley between Subhas Babu and Mr. Jinnah. They talked and talked, talked over a cup of tea, talked across the dinner table and talked at length till past midnight. These negotiations took place in camera. What transpired within none outside knew. Even journalists could not peep through the key-holes. After several heart-to-heart talks between Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Nehru, nothing beyond a slight lessening of tension was visible. But the blame for failure was thrown, of course, on the Muslim leader. The real causes were that the Congress, though they had by their activities shown that they were Hindus through and through, would not accept it. And secondly they refused to accept the Muslim League as the one authoritative organisation of the Muslims. They raked up the question of Congress Muslims, Azad Muslims, Nationalist Muslims, Jamiatul Ulema, Ahrars etc., etc., to belittle the League's claim. But they purposely refused to accept that the Muslim League alone could deliver the goods on behalf of the Muslims. They wanted to break the solidarity of Muslims. They fanned the Shia-Sunni feelings at Lucknow; they evidently

derived pleasure in seeing one Muslim flying at the throat of the other. They sowed seeds of dissensions everywhere. They instigated a set of Congress Muslims, rained money into their hands, and asked them to organise Azad Conferences. Congress aim was to discredit Muslim League and expose Muslim leadership. They were adepts in employing Muslims to play the Muslims out. For this purpose a gang of Muslims was purchased by the Congress and they in and out of season opposed the Muslim League and Mr Jinnah. Leaving the work to Congress Muslims, Mr Gandhi retired to his Wardha retreats, where once again he took his work of flattering Mr Jinnah. He would send congratulatory telegrams on Mr Jinnah's birthday. In his letters to the League leader he was not certain which prefix he should use. For a long time he was calling him as 'Shri Jinnah'. Then one fine morning India found him addressing as 'Janab Jinnah Sahib' and on a later date as the 'Qade Azam'. He was afraid whether Mr Jinnah was wounded because he fumbled about the proper prefix and queried to that effect. Wrote back the Qade Azam: "I thank you for the anxiety to respect my wishes in the matter of the prefix you should use with my name. What is in a prefix after all, a rose called by any other name smells just as sweet. So I leave the matter entirely to you, and have no particular wish in the matter. I really do not know why you are worried so much about it. I however

notice that the prefix you are using (Jinnah Sahib) is according to the usage taught to you by the late Ajmal Khan. But surprisingly enough during his life time and long after his death, you addressed me as 'Mr.', then quite recently you addressed me as 'Shri', and in between as 'friend'; but please do not bother about the matter."

There is a misunderstanding and the Congress papers give the widest publicity to it—that the surname 'Qaede Azam' was given by Mr. Gandhi. Not at all. Gandhiji himself, while first using this prefix, wrote to Mr. Jinnah that Miss Amtus Salam, a Muslim inmate of the Wardha Ashram, informed the Mahatma that in U. P. Muslim League circles Mr. Jinnah was being hailed as the 'Qaede Azam'. Mr. Gandhi was not its originator; neither he made that claim. It was not a tribute paid by any single person but a grand title conferred on him by the hundred million Muslims, whose leader he is. It is too much to think that Gandhiji could have conceived this word. It is very doubtful whether he can even pronounce it correctly.

At the time of the commencement of war, September 1939, the position of the League was this. It had welded the Muslims of India into a well-knit, well-disciplined, well-organised body and secured the position of the most authoritative spokesman of the Muslims. And Mr. Jinnah was slowly making his way even beyond his

community. The Anglo-Indians found in him not only a champion of Muslims but of all the minorities as well. Soon after the beginning of the war, when the Viceroy called for the leaders of the communities to meet at Delhi, Mr. Jinnah was also invited. While at Delhi he had been receiving messages from leaders and representatives of the minority communities requesting him to press their claims before the Viceroy.

Among those messages there was one from Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, leader of the Scheduled Classes which ran thus "I have asked Mr. Sivaraj, M.L.A., to see you on his way to Madras and to request you to press the claims of the Depressed Classes for special recognition before the Viceroy when you meet him. He writes to me that he met you and you desired to have the same in writing authorising you to act as our spokesman. It is, therefore, to strengthen your hands that I am writing this letter. Mr. Sivaraj will also be writing to you in this behalf. Trusting you will do the needful."

Mr. Sivaraj, M.L.A., wiring from Madras, said: "Please as champion of minorities cause safeguard Scheduled Classes interest in talk with His Excellency the Viceroy". Not only the Scheduled Classes entrusted their case to him but also non-Congress Hindus from South India. Sir K. V. Reddy, wiring from Madras, observed "Let not non-Congress people be thrown to wolves". That clearly

showed in what esteem Mr. Jinnah was held even beyond the frontiers of his own community.

The Congress realised rather too late that they were reduced to a communal organisation of caste Hindus. This was of their own making. Since the time Mr. Gandhi assumed the leadership of the Congress he did enough and more to do this successfully and skilfully. But the credit, in full, must go to the Qaede Azam for turning the Congress inside out. The Congress also noted, very pathetically, that whereas a few years ago they were attracting a number of Muslim youngmen to their standard in the name of nationalism, now the Muslim youth was leaving them and the current was all the other way. The one and only reason being Congress sentiment was unmistakably pro-Hindu. The Congress was only a camouflage for Hindu Mahasabha ideals. Therefore Mr. Jinnah said: "I have made it abundantly clear on more than one occasion and it has been proved to demonstration that the Congress is a Hindu body. It is the same coin with a stamp on one side of the Mahasabha and on the other that of the Congress and what one speaks out openly the other practises".

OPEN SESAME

ONE OF THE main services Mr. Jinnah rendered to the Muslims—in the teeth of organised opposition is—he saved the Muslims from the Congress whirlpool, where if the Muslims had slipped, they would have been lost. He torpedoed and successfully blitzkrieged the Congress machinations. So Mr. Gandhi started a new method of propaganda: "Janab Jinnah Sahib looks to the British power to safeguard the Muslim rights". To that Mr. Jinnah replied "I assure him that the Mussalmans of India depend on their own inherent strength. We are determined to fight and fight to the last ditch for rights to which we are entitled in spite of the British or the Congress. We do not depend upon anybody". He invited Gandhiji to face facts and come into the world of realities and do some service: "More than any one else you happen to be the man today who commands the confidence of Hindu India and are in a position to deliver the goods on their behalf. Is it too much to hope and expect that you might play your legitimate role and abandon your chase after a mirage?"

Events are moving fast; a campaign of polemics, or your weekly discourse in the *Harijan* on metaphysics, philosophy and ethics or your peculiar doctrines regarding *khadder*, *ahimsa* and spinning are not going to win India's freedom. Action and statesmanship alone will help us in our forward march. I believe that you might still rise to your stature in the service of our country and make your proper contribution towards leading India to contentment and happiness".

But Gandhiji never rose to his stature. And the Muslims, tired of Congress hypocrisy, tired of British promises, tired of communal riots, at the Muslim League session in Lahore in March 1940, adopted the famous Lahore resolution, popularly known as Pakistan. The reason was that the trusted Congress proved untrustworthy, turned Hindu when intoxicated with power. The British only talked of independence, but even with a war on, they showed no inclination to part with power. Besides Muslims had found no security for their religion or culture. Even their civic rights were in jeopardy. That was why they adopted the Lahore resolution, which they hoped would provide them with separate home-lands to pursue their own culture and civilization without any outside hindrance.

The Muslims were united on this point. They adopted the resolution with the happiest eclat. "The Lahore session", Mr. Jinnah

proclaimed seeing the enthusiasm of the audience, "has made me ten years younger". All that the Muslims wanted was free Islam in a free India, and Mr. Jinnah amplified it thus:

"Let me tell you as clearly as I can possibly define it that the goal of the All-India Muslim League is this—we want the establishment of completely independent autonomous states in the North-west and eastern zones of India with full control finally of defence, foreign affairs, communications, customs, currency and exchange etc. We do not want in any circumstances a constitution of an All-India character with one Government at the centre. We will never agree to that".

No sooner the Lahore resolution was passed than Congressmen and Hindus and Muslims in the Congress began to condemn the League and Mr. Jinnah. The Congress in order to retain the national colour very shrewdly made a Muslim as their president and the gentleman to be roped in thus was no other than Maulana Azad.

Right or wrong, Congress' opposition was organised and their offensive well-timed. They asked how could Muslims claim to be a nation. Gandhiji said that Muslims and Hindus think alike, dress alike, and eat alike. Mr. Jinnah had a ready answer: "Muslims came to India as conquerors, traders, preachers, and brought with them their own culture and civilization and

found mighty empires and built great civilization. They reformed and remoulded the sub-continent of India. Today the hundred millions of Mussalmans in India represent the largest compact body of Muslim population in any single part of the world.....We are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions; in short we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of International Law we are a nation”.

Then came criticism after criticism. Gandhiji called it “vivisection of India” and stigmatised it as a “sin” adding “cut me into two before you cut India”. Hindus labelled the Lahore resolution as Pakistan. Mr. Rajagopalachari said that it was cutting cow into two. Congress said that it was reactionary. Jawaharlal dubbed it as a “mad scheme” and feared civil war. Dr. Jayakar said that Pakistan postulated Pan-Islamism adding that what the Muslims contemplated was a belt of Muslims from Turkey down to Assam, so that a whisper at Shillong could be heard at Istanbul. Nationalist and Azad Muslims were even out-Congressing Congress in indicting Mr. Jinnah. Once again the most unkindest cut came from the Muslim President of the Hindu Congress, Maulana Azad, who said that Mr. Jinnah wished to cut

India into two, "Pak" and "Na Pak" zones. The Qaede Azam had brought tons of Congress bricks on his head and had to reply to every criticism, every sensible and sane one. He said there was no such thing as Vivisection of India. India was already divided and partitioned by Nature. Muslim India and Hindu India existed on the physical map of India. The one fact was that India was being held by the British power and that was the hand that held and gave the impression of a United India. Indian Nation and Central Government did not exist. It was a pure intellectual and mental luxury, in which some of the Hindu leaders were indulging so recklessly. Answering Pandit Nehru's charge that the Lahore Resolution was a "mad scheme" he said, it was a sane and well-considered step taken by the entire Muslims as one man. He said there would be neither conflict nor a civil war, unless Congress desired it. The Muslim Ideal presupposed Indian freedom and independence.

During the past four years this Pakistan ideology has gained so much currency that the entire Muslim India are behind it. Mr. Jinnah by his clear and lucid explanations has won over erstwhile critics like Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, who is today one of the Hindu champions of Muslim rights. It has convinced even foreign observers who have written and said that Western Parliamentary Democratic System is quite unsuitable for India; for that provides a centre, where the Hindus would always be in a majority. Major Yeats Brown has

studied the Muslim case and reaches this conclusion: "Let us put ourselves in Muslim slippers. We British would consider ourselves aggrieved if some world-improving superman or super-government were to declare that we should be ruled by an All-Europe Government (no doubt with safe-guards) with Teutons as the dominant race or slaves if you prefer—because we were a minority".

But the Congress attitude towards Muslim demand remained hostile. They found in it the end of their day-dream of All-India dominance. They wished to silence the Muslims by what they called National Government. They instigated their supporters to raise the cry of Akhand Hindustan—one indivisible India.

The Hindu Mahasabha expressed its uncompromising attitude towards Muslim demand. However much the Congress and the Mahasabha may deny Muslims *feel* that they are a separate entity; and in politics it is the feeling that counts. The League gained strength day by day.. All attempts by the Congress to hoodwink the Muslims failing, as a last measure, a trump card was played by the Muslim President of the Hindu Congress. Maulana Azad wired to Mr. Jinnah thus: "Confidential. Congress Delhi resolution definitely means by National Government a composite cabinet not limited to any single party. But is it the position of the League that she cannot agree to any provisional arrangement not based on the two nations' scheme? If so please clarify

by wire". This was a sinister move on behalf of the Congress to checkmate Mr. Jinnah and in that game, Maulana Sahib agreed to be a willing tool. Mr. Jinnah saw into the game and sent back the following reply:

✓ "Your telegram. Cannot reciprocate confidence. I refuse to discuss with you by correspondence or otherwise as you have completely forfeited the confidence of Muslim India. Can't you realise you are made a Muslim show-boy Congress President to give it the colour that it is national and deceive foreign countries? You represent neither Hindus nor Muslims. The Congress is a Hindu body. If you have self-respect resign at once. You have done your worst against the League so far. You know you have hopelessly failed. Give it up".

This was a bold and frank reply. Congress found that even their last machination was blown to smithereens. This created a sensation in India and the so-called Nationalist Press sat hairsplitting every word of the telegram. The message was weighed, analysed and put to many laboratory tests. The Congress and the Muslims-in-the-Congress took the whole of India by storm and fiery statements and inflammatory speeches were the order of the day. But the entire Muslim India, through Primary Leagues and public speeches approved of every word telegraphed by Mr. Jinnah and passed unanimous resolutions expressing full confidence in

QAEDE AZAM SNAPPED AT BOMBAY IDGAH



the Qaede Azam. That was triumph number one for Mr. Jinnah. The Congress were exposed. The Congress Pharoahs found a Moses in Mr. Jinnah.

Seeing every attempt thwarted, the Congress thought of pastures anew. The League was growing, winning over the intelligentsia as well as the masses and this gave Congress a severe head-ache. The reason why the League was so much opposed to National Government was this. The Congress based their demand for a National Government on the theory of one-nation, which did not exist. And Muslims feared and rightly too, that under the Parliamentary system, any Government formed would be Hindu Raj; because experience had shown that whatever be the economic or political programme of any party, the Hindu, as a rule, would vote for his caste-fellow and the Muslim for his co-religionist. Consequently under a National Government the Muslims were afraid of a repetition of a tyranny of the majority, having had a foretaste of it under the Congress regime. That was why Mr. Jinnah refused to walk into the trap set up by the Congress.

So the Congress manipulated and entrusted the work of roping in Mr. Jinnah somehow to a mushroom organisation of self-styled non-party leaders. They shouted their non-party affiliation on the platform but were in secret wedded to the Congress ideal. They were—most of them were Liberals and as Qaede Azam described them—all

generals and no privates. In short, they were all leaders but without followers. A mountainous six-footer, who smokes tobacco endlessly is Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, admittedly a political orphan. He is the leader of this happy-go-lucky political farce. He wished to be a go-between between the Congress and the League and undertook to some how trap in Mr. Jinnah. He wrote to Mr. Jinnah saying that he should meet Mr. Gandhi for the setting up of a National Government adding:

"I think you and Gandhiji should meet first; for if the country is dear to him it is no less dear to you. You may be at present identified with the Muslim League; it may be a necessity of the situation that you should be leading the Muslim League. I have no kind of prejudice against the League or any connected with it and so far as you are concerned, I still prefer to look upon you as I used to in the days gone by when other people also looked up to you for guidance and advocacy of the cause of India, irrespective of caste, colour or creed". Prompt came this reply from Mr. Jinnah: "I have always been ready and willing to see Mr. Gandhi or any other Hindu leader on behalf of the Hindu community and do all I can to help the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem". But now Gandhiji played the same old game of not agreeing to see Mr. Jinnah as a Hindu leader. Sir Tej and his friends instead of convincing Mr. Gandhiji, joined

hands with him and allowed to be led by the nose. Consequently the No-Party Conference, has come to exist as a mouth-piece of the Congress and Mahasabha.

The Congress attitude towards Muslim demand remained unchanged. They turned a deaf ear to it. They had an eye for the whole loaf and would not be content with two slices or three. Their attitude was very humorously described by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan in an Assembly speech. He said: "The story of our differences is a painful one. It reminds me of a story of two brothers, who had been left a magnificent mansion between themselves. The elder brother who had the characteristic idiosyncracies of Mr. Gandhi said to the younger, who was somewhat like Mr. Jinnah: 'From the floor to the top of the house is mine and from the top of the house to the highest heaven is yours'". That was the grab-all policy pursued by the Congress.

Since then much has changed. The Congress attitude towards war also changed. At a Poona meeting, the Congress even decided to throw Mr. Gandhi over-board and give a short shrift to his non-violence. So, as Mr. Jinnah put it, what was *haram* at Wardha became *halal* at Poona. All was done to force the British Government to give the reins of administration into the Congress hands to run the war-time India Government. But their attitude towards Muslim demand remained stiff and unbending. Mr. Rajagopalachari, who

moved heaven and earth at the Allahabad All-India Congress meeting, to get a resolution passed granting self-determination to Muslims had to face a counter-resolution moved by one Mr. Jagat Narain Lal. The Congress by adopting the latter resolution and crushing down Rajaji's closed the door once and for all on Hindu-Muslim question. Seeing the Cripps' Offer which had in it some semblance of Pakistan, the Congress adopted a resolution vaguely referring to Muslim demand and still ambiguously clouding it in words. But when they found that in the long run it would thwart their dream of All-India suzerainty, they post-haste devised a means to hit two birds at one shot. Hence their "Quit India" resolution of August 8, 1942, which was in fact a loaded pistol aimed both at the Government and the Muslims. The Qade Azam warned his followers saying: "The latest decision of the Congress Working Committee, resolving to launch a mass movement if the British do not withdraw immediately from India is the culminating point in the policy and programme of Mr. Gandhi and his Hindu Congress of black-mailing the British and coercing them to concede a system of Government and transfer power to that Government which would establish a Hindu Raj immediately under the aegis of the British bayonet, thereby throwing the Muslims and other minorities and interests at the mercy of Congress Raj".

Without heeding to the advice of anyone, the Congress launched the offensive. Violence was let

loose in the country. Trains were derailed, stations were set fire to, communications and telegraph wires cut, lives lost—sabotage and arson were the order of the day. The Congress leaders including Gandhiji were rounded up and put in prison. Muslims kept aloof, away from Congress Goonda-Raj, as per the instructions of the Qaedo Azam.

Within gaol, Mr. Gandhi adopted another coercive measure to force the Britisher to yield to Congress demands. He went on a fast of 21 days, a fast 'unto capacity'. Soon the Congress press took up Mr. Gandhi's case demanding his unconditional release. Day in and day out health bulletins were issued. On the seventh day of the commencement of the fast, Mr. Gandhi's condition was reported to be serious. Hindu leaders appealed for his release. They thought Mr. Gandhi would die in gaol. Some three Indian Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council were actually scared and they resigned in terror of the impending death of Mr. Gandhi. An emergency meeting of Big guns was summoned in Delhi to agitate for the release of Gandhiji. Mr. Jinnah too was invited but he sent this reply: "The situation arising out of Mr. Gandhi's fast is really a matter for the Hindu leaders to consider and advise him accordingly". He felt that yielding to the fast would mean a death knell to Muslim aspirations. The so-called fast was continued for twenty-one days and its successful termination was hailed as a "miracle". There was no miracle in the whole episode as it

was found later that Mr. Gandhiji while bluffing the entire world was taking 'mosambi' juice on all days. But then mysterious were the ways of the Mahatma! Nobody launched fasts like Gandhiji. In spite of several "fasts unto death", he is still alive and kicking, in flesh and bones.

Till some time after, there was all calm on the Gandhian front. The Congress and Hindu leaders outside gaol were complaining that Mr. Jinnah was not well disposed towards the release of Congress leaders. So at the Delhi League session Mr. Jinnah clarified his position: "Nobody would welcome it more than myself if Mr. Gandhi is even now really willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan. Let me tell you that it will be the greatest day both for the Hindus and Mussalmans. If he has made up his mind, what is there to prevent Mr. Gandhi from writing direct to me? He is writing letters to the Viceroy. Why does he not write to me direct? I cannot believe for a single moment—strong as this Government may be in this country—you may say anything you like against this Government—I cannot believe that they will have the daring to stop *such* a letter if it is sent to me".

Gandhiji wrote. But he did not write *such* a letter, accepting the Pakistan demand. His aim was just to embroil the Muslim League and the Government. He was again exposed. Because the Congress leaders would not accept the Muslim

demand and because they would not call off their August resolution, they are still in gaol, allowing the country to be ruled by "irresponsible and un-representative Indians", who are surrounding the Viceroy and carrying on His Majesty's Government.

That is the position today and the Congress alone has the key for resolving the deadlock.

To safeguard Muslims from the organised and well-planned traps of the Congress, it required a master mind to analyse and understand every Congress move. The credit in entirety must go to the Qaede Azam for protecting the Muslims from the Hindu enticement. For this he paid heavily. The Congress first ignored him; then held negotiations with a view to end his powers; then they tried to corrupt him with the baits of Congress presidentship and the Premiership of the so-called National Government. But they found him to their dismay very incorruptible. As a final step they 'killed' him.

In 1940, Mr. Jinnah was unwell and was staying in Matheran. His political opponents circulated rumours in Bombay that Mr. Jinnah was no more. The rumour spread like wild fire and were followed by anxious enquiries in newspaper offices, followed again by the newspapers themselves phoning up to various quarters to get at the truth. The rumour was later discovered to be absolutely mischievous and without foundation. That very evening a certain organisation took into its degenerate head

to celebrate the 'death' of Mr. Jinnah by employing and distributing sweets to school children.

On another occasion the rumour caught the Karachi Assembly when permission was sought to move an adjournment motion. The late Mr. Alla Bux had to send a trunk call to verify the truth. The rumour was again false. It was all a vulgar hoax. The opponents of Mr. Jinnah did not hesitate to hit him below the belt. That is Indian politics and decidedly politics is a dirty game.

Muslim position in India is definitely unenviable. They have to be always on the alert. And at times they had to be ready and willing to wage a two-front battle. They are proverbially between the devil and the deep sea. While the Congress want to completely efface their very existence, the Britisher's attitude is not very patronising either. He believes in promises and gives them in abundance without caring to put them into action. Jam to-morrow, jam yesterday, but no jam to-day—that is his attitude towards Indian aspirations. The Round Table Conference saw him giving the Muslims the Communal Award. But when the Congress assumed office, he was hand in glove with the party in power. The protests of persecuted Muslims fell on deaf ears. Even when the war came and when the Congress went out of office, the Britisher showed no inclination to accept the co-operation of other parties in carrying on the Government—on honourable terms. The Viceroy's Executive Council was expanded without consulting

the League President or the League Executive and the League was offered two seats out of a number supposed to be in the neighbourhood of eleven, which was confusing and elastic enough. Mr. Jinnah turned it down as the offer was a travesty of giving the League a real share in the authority. A National Defence Council was set up and prominent Muslims were lured to accept the job. But Mr. Jinnah refused to co-operate with it, as mere membership without power was not only humiliating but derogatory. Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Mr. Fazlul Huq and Sir Saadullah, the three Muslim League premiers accepted jobs on the National Defence Council. Mr. Jinnah asked them to resign. Sir Sikandar and Sir Saadullah resigned. But Mr. Fazlul Huq said that the Premiers were invited in their official capacity. Mr. Jinnah exposed this by releasing a correspondence that passed between him and the then Bombay Governor wherein it was stated that they were chosen as representatives of Muslims. It was a major official bungling. While the authorities blinked in confusion Mr. Jinnah scored a hit. It was a first rate personal triumph for him. Those who joined the Viceroy's Council and National Defence Council against the League interdict were dealt with an iron hand—expelled from the League. By the dynamic personality of Mr. Jinnah, the League had attained such strength, that strong discipline was necessary. For joining the Viceroy's Council, Sir Sultan Ahmed was expelled. Begum Shah Nawaz was shown the

door for accepting the National Defence Council membership. And lastly even the great Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Ex-Premier of Bengal, when he stooped down to hobnob for Ministerial honours in a way detrimental to Muslim interests, was given the sack. Mr. Jinnah is a hard task master and a strong disciplinarian. In dealing with the erring members he could have acted arbitrarily, for that power has been granted to him by the Madras session, but he gave the defaulting members the right of appeal. Announcing the expulsion of Mr. Fazlul Huq and Nawab of Dacca, Mr. Jinnah said: "I make a Christmas present of Mr. Fazlul Huq to Lord Linlithgow. I make a New Year's gift of the Nawab of Dacca to the Governor of Bengal. I am glad that the Muslim League is rid of them. . . . No man is indispensable to our organisation".

To revert back to the topic, the Government did not pay any heed to grasp the Muslim hand of co-operation. They merely said that no future Constitution, interim or final, would be adopted by the Government without the approval and consent of the League. So far so good. But they had said not a word about the Muslim demand for Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah in an interview to a London paper clearly stated: "I want the British Government not to force Muslim India to fill Indian gaols to convince them or demonstrate that Pakistan is now our sacred creed, our article of faith and that any declaration by the British Government or the Prime

Minister which, in any way, will militate against it, Muslim India will resist with all the power it can command".

In the summer of 1942, came Sir Stafford Cripps, with a take-it or leave-it Offer, wherein a veiled reference was made about Pakistan. But no party in the country accepted the Proposals and League had its own reasons. Mr. Jinnah said: "The principle of Pakistan which finds only veiled recognition in the document should be conceded in unequivocal terms and until we know how the right of Muslims to keep out or accede thereto is defined to our satisfaction, we do not wish to see that the history of Palestine should be repeated as it was after the last war, after we have paid for the promises in blood, money, and material. Mussalmans feel deeply disappointed that the entity and integrity of the Muslim nation has not been expressly recognised". The Congress turned down the Cripps' Offer saying: "It's a post-dated cheque."

Sir Stafford Cripps came in haste and returned in a hurry. This was the Offer the British Government made when the Japanese were almost at the gate of India. After that much has happened. Mr. Gandhi, who advised the Britishers to leave their lands if the Fascist aggressors wanted them to do so, and who shed tears when he heard that damage was done to the Westminster Abbey by German bombing, asked the Britishers to quit India. The Congress were declared rebel and put behind bars. But no attempt was made to accept the

hand of friendship offered by the Muslims—on honourable terms. Muslims were asked to give help as camp followers for a little *bakshish*, which position the Muslim League refused to accept. Not only that. The British Crown representative in India, invented a new slogan to blow up the Pakistan demand. He said "for all purposes India was geographically one". There was already the Hindu opposition to Pakistan. Now it was the British spokesman's. But Muslims never worried about all these. Even when Lord Linlithgow went away and a New Viceroy has succeeded, the Government's attitude remains the same. Lord Wavell in his Assembly address paraphrasing his predecessor's pronouncement prattled: "No man can alter geography". They seem to forget that God made the country and man made the town. Even in Europe which is geographically one there are a number of sovereign states. This is ignored. The fact is the Government is busy plying away to satisfy the Hindu Congress which demands full 20 shillings in the pound immediately.

But Muslim India—through their accredited spokesman has declared that their article of faith, their defence, their deliverance, their destiny is Pakistan. To-day there is a dead-lock in the country. The Congress embarrassed the Government and are paying for it in gaols. The League can embarrass the Government too but it will not. It does not believe in coercive means. Fasting or goal-going is not the League's technique. It will

fight and fight constitutionally. Just now the League can expect nothing from the Congress, because they are decidedly anti-Muslim. If at all it is to-day asking the Government to concede the Muslim demand it is not because it has faith in the Government but if the Government accepts Pakistan now, the Congress will accept it within twenty-four hours. For, experience has shown that in the history of Hindu Muslim relationships, the Congress accepted the Muslim demand only when the British conceded it.

The demand of the Muslims for separate electorates in 1906 was conceded by the British Government in 1909 and was accepted by the Congress only in 1916 at Lucknow. Similarly the partition of Sind was vehemently opposed by the Congress, but when the British Government carved it out from Bombay and made it a province in India, the Congress president ran up there to establish a Congress Government. In the case of the Communal Award also, when all the golden opportunities offered during second Round Table Conference had been missed, the Congress in 1934 by a resolution passed at Bombay decided neither to accept nor to reject the Communal Award, thus conceding everything on which much breath and energy had been wasted in the past years. And only when the Cripps' Offer recognised the Pakistan demand in a veiled way, the Congress hastened to adopt its resolution about the self-determination to Muslims. That is

the tragic history of Hindu-Muslim relation. And to-day the Muslim's position is peculiar. He is between Scylla and Charybdis. If he joins the Congress, the next day he will be nowhere. If he runs against the Government, he will be out, for his position is like that of a melon. Whether the melon falls on the knife or the knife falls on the melon, it is the melon that will be out. Protecting and shrewdly guiding the Muslims in between the two dangers is Mr. Jinnah, who is nothing if not a first rate politician. Muslim India with one voice acclaim him as their Qaede Azam, as he metamorphosed a crowd into a nation, gave them a flag, a platform and a goal. There is no denying the fact to-day that Congress represent all Hindus. Other organisations are there only to keep the Congress fire burning. But when the Congress Party returns to active politics they will either disappear or be absorbed by the Congress. The Muslim League is the only organisation of the Muslims. In a short span of six years, Mr. Jinnah organised the League in such a remarkable manner that its position is equal—and not less—to the Congress. A settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question and that of the freedom of India is possible only on the basis of Pakistan, which according to Muslims is the key for the present dead-lock, the panacea for all constitutional ills and which is definitely the "Open Sesame".

CLOSE-UP

RIGHT NOW Mr. Mohamed Ali Jinnah is the acknowledged and undisputed leader of the hundred million Muslims of India. He enjoys the complete confidence of the Muslim community in a way which has never been attained by any Muslim leader before. To-day he holds the key-position in Indian politics; of his community, he is the unquestioned leader, acclaimed lovingly as their Qaede Azam. His name is a house-hold word throughout the length and breadth of Muslim India. His is not a meteoric rise to eminence by a lucky combination of favourable circumstances, but the well-deserved reward for a long record of selfless service in the struggle for India's liberation and towards the renaissance and revival of his community.

A man of singularly exquisite charms, completely immune from the least trace of corruption and far above those mediocres who jostle for jobs, knighthoods and the like, his personality is an asset of incalculable benefit to the Muslim community. Tall and stately, luxurious of habits,

accustomed to the rarefied atmosphere of a Parisian saloon, he has the plasticity and flexibility of a young man of twenty. Artistic in taste, aristocrat in likes and dislikes, he looks neat and tidy, dressed in impeccable Savile Row suits of the latest cut and finish. He looks best in double-breast coat even though since lately he has shown a taste for long shervani and black cap. He speaks faultless English fluently with an impressive accent.

You can with ease mark him out in any crowd—his personality is remarkably striking, his manner is singularly attractive. Dignified and courteous he is every inch cultured. To see him is to love him; after seeing once there is no forgetting him. He appears somewhat formal and rigid and even reserved and imperious, but his aloofness only adds to his magnetic presence. It is very difficult to understand him even though he places all his cards on the table. He is an open-book to friends and followers, to his opponents he is an enigma and a riddle. They try to catch him, but he slips through their fingers.

A very brilliant debator, he is blunt in his speech, resents humming and hawing, and is trigger-quick in his decisions. He is selfless to the extreme and very independent in thought and judgment. Free and extremely frank in the exposition of his views, he has absolutely no regard for his opponents when telling the truth. Unmindful of consequences and even against the hottest odds he sticks to his principles, come what may. Constructive



Miss FATIMA JINNAH

QAEDE AZAM

"He is the beloved of millions. But he lives alone . . . his only companion is his sister."

in criticism, and pre-eminently practical, Mr. Jinnah is nothing if not a realist.

Such a man is the accredited leader of hundred million Muslims of India to-day and in his hands lies the destiny of the Muslim nation.

At present he may be the champion of the two-nations' theory. But this is not born of his ill-will towards the great Hindu community. Even Mr. Gandhi had to accept it when he wrote: "I observe from the Qaede Azam's speeches that he has no quarrel with the Hindus. He wants to live at peace with them". Addressing the Allahabad Journalists' Association recently Mr. Jinnah said: "I agree that there is a wide difference to-day especially between the Hindus and the Mussalmans. Whether you are here Hindus, Muslims, Parsis or Christians, all I can say to you is this, that however much I am criticised, however much I am attacked—and to-day I am charged with hate in some quarters—let me tell you—and this I tell you most sincerely—that I believe and I honestly believe that the day will come when not only Mussalmans but this great community of Hindus will also bless, if not during my life time, after I am dead, the memory of my name.

"I have expressed many times that whatever differences there are they do not from my side arise from the slightest ill-will against the great community of Hindus or any other community. We may not see eye to eye to-day but I can

only give you one example to illustrate. The first man that went into the street with an umbrella was laughed at and was mobbed by the crowd. Because they had never seen the umbrella before in their lives. I am carrying an umbrella. You may laugh at me, but time will come sooner than you realise that you will all not only understand what the umbrella is but you will use it to the advantage of every one of you".

Mr. Jinnah is accused of being dictatorial. Mr. Fazlul Haq once went to the extent of referring him as the "proudest of the Pharaohs". A section of the Congress press even to-day refers to him as "the League Feuhrer". If he acts like a dictator, he does so because he enjoys the confidence of a bloc of hundred million Muslims as never before. He is a benevolent dictator, and not a tyrant. He is a dictator, not forcing his interdicts at the point of the bayonet—but he is so by an unanimous verdict and by a people's choice. He never thrust his ideas on others. On the contrary, he invited suggestions which he said would receive his earnest attention: "one suggestion or one idea may be of great value to the future of Muslim nation. I want you to help and assist. We want by these means to build up the nation and the chief organisation of the nation". Let alone his being dictatorial, he is even against his being made a life-president. When this was suggested, Mr. Jinnah clearly stated: "Let me

come to you at the end of every year and seek your vote and your confidence. Let your president be on his good behaviour. I am definitely opposed to your electing a life president". Hardly the words of a dictator! He has often times said that if the community thought that he was doing a wrong it can replace him in twenty-four hours.

after he had gone. And Dr. Iqbal recognised that Mr. Jinnah alone could guide the Muslims on the right path. Writing to Mr. Jinnah he expressed: "I hope you won't mind my writing to you often, as you are the only Muslim in India to-day to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to the North West of India and perhaps, to the whole of India".

He is the greatest champion of Indian Muslims.

Critics call him all sorts of names. He is accused of being the Agent of British Imperialism in India. No one is a greater adversary of the British intentions. He was one of the first to advocate complete freedom when Mr. Gandhi and others were willing to be content with Dominion Status. His Assembly speeches proclaim the man. When other Hindu lawyers were hesitating and fighting shy to incur the displeasure of the authorities Mr. Jinnah volunteered and defended Balagangadhar Tilak in a sedition case. His entire political life is free from official benedictions and when it comes to a question of Indian interests and bureaucracy, Mr. Jinnah spares no words and bangs the Government right and left, relentlessly and unsparingly.

The one aspect of his character which stands in bold relief is his incorruptibility. His supremacy is supreme there. In all his political life he has never placed his self before sacrifice. He wants

nothing for himself but everything for his country. He has always declined to utilise his public position for personal or private gain. It is this characteristic of the man that has won regard and reverence for him from friends and foes alike. Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas hails him in these words: "Mr. Jinnah is one of those in India who have spurned all the rich prizes offered in the shape of the highest Government posts by Government authorities." Sir H. P. Mody's tribute was: "He is fearless and straightforward, seeks no popularity and is singularly free from political intrigues". And Dr. C. R. Reddi, for the same reason, refers to Mr. Jinnah as "the pride of India, and not the private possession of Muslims".

During 1940, the cunning, short, dark-spectacled Mr. Rajagopalachari made a "sporting offer" during the course of an interview to the foreign press that a National Government be set up, Mr. Jinnah be made the Premier and he be allowed to select his own cabinet. Rajaji added that he would persuade his colleagues. This was too evident for Mr. Jinnah who, during the course of a debate in the Assembly, pooh-poohed the idea saying, "Why doesn't Mr. Rajagopalachari invite the prospective Prime Minister to have a talk with him instead of wiring it to a London newspaper and saying, 'I shall persuade my colleagues'. Mr. Rajagopalachari has today justified his action by saying that it would have been improper to make the offer to me in the first instance,

for, I would then have legitimate grounds for considering it an insult and retorting that I was not after jobs. If Mr. Amery has accepted that offer and when the offer is then made to me, will it not be open to me to make the same retort and say that Mr. Amery and Mr. Rajagopalachari have combined to insult me? I am not here for jobs. Do give other people credit for commonsense".

An impartial observer like Mr. Arthur Moore, the late Editor of the *Statesman*, once wrote: "Mr. Jinnah's increased ascendancy in the Muslim councils is not entirely accounted for by successful strategy and tactics. It is, Muslims tell me, a tribute to a long public career in which he has shown himself to be no careerist. If Mr. Gandhi is incorruptible because he is not interested in possessions, Mr. Jinnah is incorruptible in that he possesses enough and has earned an honourable independence in his legal profession".

During the year 1937-38, when the Muslim League was growing from strength to strength, and Muslims were slowly weaning away from the Congress, the Congress leaders tried as the last resort to tempt Mr. Jinnah even with the bait of Congress presidentship, the greatest honour that Congress can give. But Mr. Jinnah could not be lured away. He said, "No, thank you".

Mr. Jinnah was never an applicant for nor an aspirant of official honours. He never stooped to

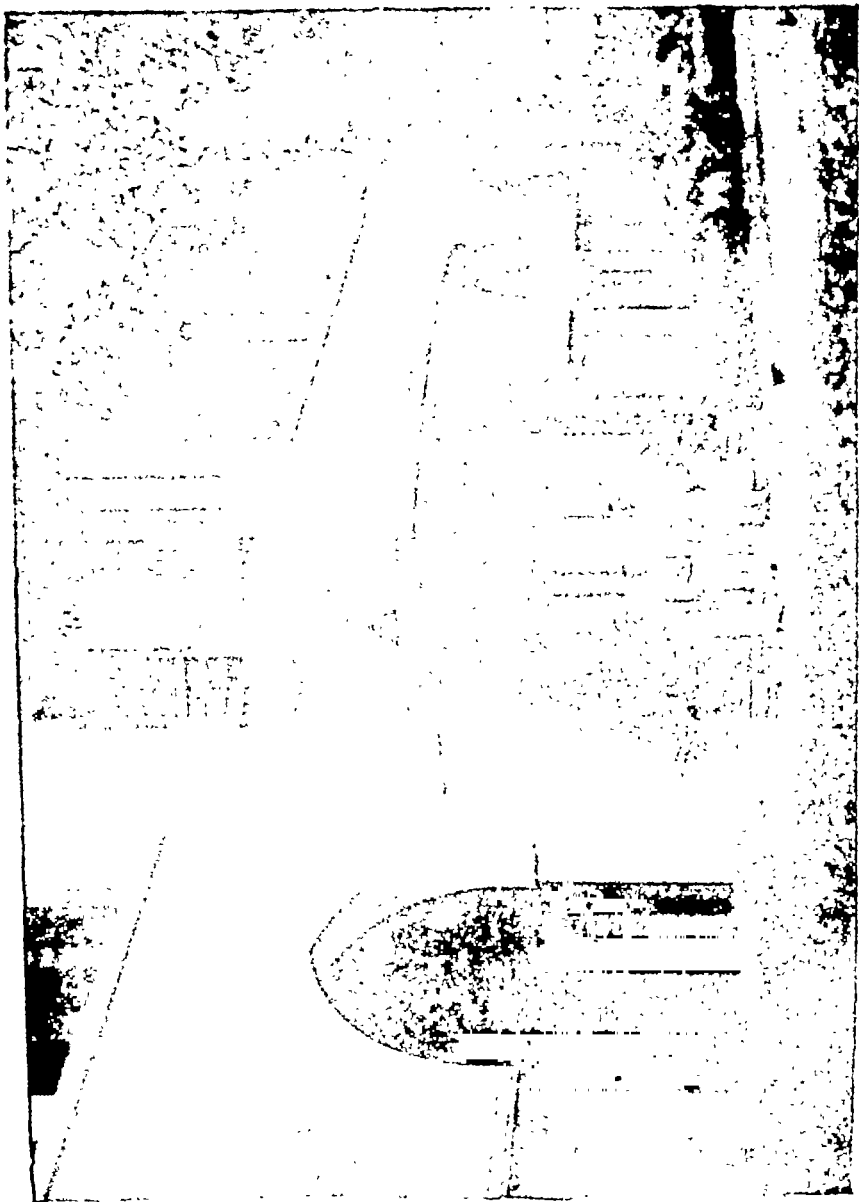
bend his knee before any European or kowtowed to officialdom. There had been several attempts by Governors and Viceroys to seduce him; but every time he was found unpurchaseable. Lord Reading threw before Mr. Jinnah the two baits—one of High Court Judgeship and other of the Law Member of the Government of India. He had also offered knighthood to Mr. Jinnah and in order that his wife might persuade him to accept it, Lord Reading once asked of Mrs. Jinnah: "Don't you wish to be called Lady Jinnah?" Right like a gun-shot the lady dashed forth her reply: "If he accepts knighthood I will get a separation from him". That was Mrs. Jinnah, who knew her husband more than any one else. Mr. Jinnah is a born fighter and an undaunted soldier—the hero of a hundred battles, the victor of innumerable fights, who has both given and received numberless blows. In fact his political life is all fights.

Next to incorruptibility, if there is a distinct trait in his character it is his independence of opinion. When he has seriously thought about a question and come to a decision, nothing will sidetrack him. Sir Cowasjee Jehangir was one of those who were impressed by this aspect of Mr. Jinnah which distinguished him in public life. He wrote once: "Nothing will sidetrack Mr. Jinnah from what he considers is the path of truth, righteousness and equity. No amount of opposition, no threats and no danger will daunt him in his determination. He is a man full of courage and

tenacity. Few have been in public life for so long in India today as he has been and I venture to suggest that no one can accuse him of ever having been a time-server or an opportunist. Such men are rarely found in public life". Sir Shanmukam Chetty is another admirer of Mr. Jinnah's "uncompromising independence and sense of self-respect". And in fact Mr. Jinnah owes his present position in Indian politics to this trait.

He has the courage of conviction and can act boldly. He has no respect for dogmas. He will do what according to him is right. "I am a very peculiarly constituted person", he said recently, "I am guided by cold-blooded reason, logic and judicial training". During February 1943, when Mr. Gandhi went on a "fast-unto-death" for 21 days, the entire Hindu public were agitated about the precious life of their Mahatma. Hindu press was shrieking for the unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi. Some prominent leaders in India called for a Conference to agitate for the release of Gandhiji and an invitation was sent to Mr. Jinnah to attend it. He could not suppress his independent view even though he knew he would incur the wrath of non-Muslim public. He openly and boldly spoke out: "It is a matter for Hindu politicians to meet and advise Mr. Gandhi".

When it comes to a question of giving expression to his independent views, he makes no



difference between a friend and a foe. He can speak bluntly—no matter whether he loses a friend or crushes an enemy. Political differences he might have in abundance, but they do not induce him to bear malice to anyone. Once he said :

“I went into the chambers of Sir George Lowndes, a penniless man. He was to me like a father and treated me as a son. When he was in the Imperial Legislative Council as the Law Member to the Government of India, I bitterly opposed him. Withal, we have maintained our friendship unbroken till this day.... .Pandit Motilal and I used to fight like a pair of wild cats on the floor of the Legislative Assembly. Yet on the same evening of our altercation, he used to dine sumptuously with my wife, at my cost”.

But his independence of view must not be confused with doggedness. He is willing to be convinced and corrected. He never thinks that he is too old to learn. He never fights shy to confess. “I am conscious of my guilt”, he said about his Congress days; “Then I was young and did not see the danger.”

Personal courage is a capital asset to Mr. Jinnah's leadership. He does not miss to use it when he knows he can do so with success. Sheer daring has won him respect. Never has he been spirited away and never has he lost his balance at the most trying times of his life. When

It comes to a question of person to-person you will never find him hesitating. He can stand up to any man. There have been many events in his life when by personal courage and unflinching boldness he has carved his image in the hearts of millions.

The Nagpur session of the Congress was an instance in point. Amidst a scene dominated by Gandhiji and in an atmosphere surcharged with the spirit of non-co-operation, who could have dared to speak against the non-co-operation resolution, conceived, fathered and sponsored by Mr. Gandhi? Yet one thin bodied leader stood up with his head erect to oppose the resolution. It required guts to differ especially when twenty to thirty thousand persons who attended the session were passionately and even fanatically in support of the resolution. Yet Mr. Jinnah dared, for, he never believed in secret convictions. During the course of his speech, he did not even address the popular leaders with epithets commonly prefixed to their names out of respect. He referred to Gandhiji not as 'Mahatma', but only as Mr. Gandhi and to Maulana Mohamed Ali he referred as Mr. Mohamed Ali. When some of the delegates, raised a hue and cry shouting 'Say Mahatma Gandhi, Say Mahatma Gandhi', he threw a resentful glance at them. But when the entire audience persisted in clamouring that he should also refer to Mohamed Ali as Maulana, he was infuriated and retorted with full force. "I refuse to be dictated by you. I am entitled to use my discretion to call a man by

whatever designation I choose, provided it is parliamentary. I do not recognise Mr. Mohamed Ali's claim to be Maulana". On hearing this curt reply flung at them in a commanding voice, silence was instantly restored. It is said that the Big Brother Maulana Shaukat Ali, was enraged at this rebuke. His blood boiled as he considered his brother's insult as his own and he rushed at Mr. Jinnah with a stick; but it was fortunate for both that the cult of non-violence came in their way.

He moved with every one on equal terms. In all his official correspondence, he has successfully eliminated the beaten track. He would address the Premier of England or the Viceroy of India as "My dear Prime Minister" or "My dear Lord so and so".

When he resigned from the Imperial Council, he never made secret of his reactions. Condemning the Rowlat Act he wrote; "I feel that under the prevailing conditions, I can be of no use to my people in the Council, nor consistently with one's self-respect is co-operation possible with a Government that shows such an utter disregard for the opinion of the representatives of the people at the Council Chamber and the feeling and sentiments of the people outside". During the Round Table conference he refused to serve on the Minorities' Sub-Committee "to wash dirty linen before our White Master".

Lord Willingdon once had the misfortune to know what it was to come into conflict with doughty Mr Jinnah. Five years of Willingdonian governorship of Bombay had produced a gang of admirers consisting of yee-men and Ji Huzoors, while the public were bored, beyond exasperation. They heaved a sigh of relief when they knew that the disgusting regime was coming to an end. But the oblique of admirers—true to salt or God knows what—made arrangements to get up a public meeting to perpetuate the Willingdonian memory. Mr Jinnah decided to rout the 'admirers'. Mr Dwarkadas and Mr Horniman were his chief collaborators. They took possession of the hall with Mr Jinnah at the head in good time. Outside, Mrs Jinnah was leading the picketeers. Mr S R Bomanji who played Judas was moving heaven and earth for the yee men. The long and short of the whole affair was that the Governor did not show up at all and consequently the meeting was a thorough failure and Mr Jinnah had undergone a great personal risk and practically endangered his life. Several of his followers were man handled, assaulted and even threatened with dire consequences. It was a personal triumph for Mr Jinnah and the Willingdonian memory was drowned in laughter and opprobrium, ridicule and scorn, hoots and hisses. The idea of building a Jinnah's Public Hall originated for commemorating this bold act of his. The opening ceremony was done by Mrs. Naidu and the following cable was sent to

Mr. Jinnah who was then in Europe : " A prophet is honoured in his own country and in his own time". Mr. Gunther in his *Inside Asia* writes : "It was decided to name the public hall in Jinnah's honour, and it was dedicated—the People's Jinnah Hall—with appropriate ceremonies. But [nowadays the Congress folk call it simply the 'P. J.' Hall, because their difference with the Muslims are such that they hate to use Jinnah's name".

In 1926 some interested parties had set up a Congress goonda to disturb a meeting presided over by Mr. Jinnah in the Marwari Vidyarty. When the disturber did not clear off, Mr. Jinnah got down and pushed him out of the hall. He refused to seek help from the police or the sergeant. When words fail to achieve his object, Mr. Jinnah is not afraid of rolling up his sleeves. However great may be the position or personality of his opponent, once when he gets the chance of attacking his adversary, he does not know how to relent.

Mr. Jinnah's decision to hold the annual session of the League in Lahōre in 1940 according to the original announcement inspite of the sensational shooting of the Khaksars and the unpleasant incidents that took place at Lahore on the eve of the session and the great firmness and tact with which he controlled and pacified the demonstrators at the pandal who were agitated over the Khaksar shooting and asked for the blood of Sir Sikander, are instances of his unshakeable determination and courage.

His announcement of the 'Deliverance Day' created great agitation and commotion among non-Muslims and non-Muslim Bombay was boiling with indignation against him. It is said that persons who were asking for Mr. Jinnah's head were simply dumb-founded when they saw him quietly and coolly going in an open car through the crowded streets to attend the meeting called at Bombay on the 'Deliverance Day.'

The recent attempt on his life brought out this unfailing courage of the man. When Mr. Jinnah least expected it and when the assailant jumped to Mr. Jinnah's throat with a clasp knife, within the twinkling of an eye, it required the greatest presence of mind to parry the blow and break its momentum. It was a tug of war between youth and old age. Mr. Jinnah's mere strength of will made him catch the assailant's hand in time. The doctor's verdict that Mr. Jinnah was completely calm and cool, in spite of his old age, after the incident is worth noting and it throws ample light on the steadfastness and courage of Mr. Jinnah.

In spite of the recent attempt on his life and several threats, except that visitors are not allowed to see him as freely as before, Mr. Jinnah even today moves about without check or hindrance. He has no bodyguards, has none about him to protect. He believes that the Saviour who protected him once can always do so.

Mr. Jinnah is an accomplished and able conversationalist and he can convince any one by the cogency of his arguments. As early as 1917, Mr. Montague, the then Secretary of State for India came to India and met a number of leading politicians. This was his impression about the Qaede Azam: "They were followed by Jinnah, young, perfectly mannered, impressive-looking, armed to the teeth with dialectics, and insistent upon the dole of his scheme.....I was rather tired and I funk'd him. Chemsford tried to argue with him, and was tied up into knots. Jinnah is a very clever man, and it is of course, an outrage that such a man should have no chance of running the affairs of his own country".

So much for the public personality he is. But his private life is his own, few have successfully penetrated into this armour. In spite of the fact that he is the undisputed leader of the Indian Muslims and he is the beloved of the millions, he lives alone, alone with his sister, Miss Fatima Jinnah, in a well-planned and well-constructed modern building, on the heights of the Malabar Hill, where the cream of Bombay society lives. The house has a well-kept garden all around, where the beds of flowers and variety of trees suggest keen taste and an eye for selection.

His study is on the first floor, where amidst books, files, and newspapers, one can see the Qaede Azam engrossed in his daily work, which is so voluminous and so important that keeps him

engaged throughout. His busy day begins very early in the morning. After a cup of tea, he goes on a brisk walk in his own garden; takes his breakfast at half past nine with his sister. After this he goes to his study and remains there till one—reading various newspapers and the big sheaf of letters he receives.

He reads all his letters, opens them himself as none else is authorized to do so. Replies are dictated to his secretary. Letters with 'bearing' or with insufficient stamps are returned to the sender.

At one in the afternoon, he has his lunch and then goes in for short nap for about an hour.

In the evenings he meets friends in his own garden if he has no out-door engagement. After supper, he again looks into the correspondence received by the evening mail and is busy, studying an economic scheme or poring over a plan. A thousand problems engage his attention. He studies them and solves them all alone—there is no other leader in the League, of the position of Mr. Jinnah, who can share a fraction of his burdens or relieve a part of his responsibilities. Three important and vital issues keep him busy and it is never before midnight that the light is switched off.

He has a big and well-furnished library, which is full of books on politics and law. In spite of the multifarious activities, he snatches time even now for reading. This taste for books was, in fact, acquired when he was a lad.

As a student at the Lincoln's Inn, whenever he found leisure, he used to rush up to the British Museum library for reading books of his choice—lives of great men. In fact this study benefitted him a good deal.

He had a special taste for Shakespeare and took leading parts in the Collegio Shakespearian dramas. It is also said that as a student he was attached to a touring dramatic company in London. Whether this is true or not, one fact is certain: he can produce even today, without a moment's hesitation a Shakespearian quotation to suit any and every occasion.

As with every great man, so also Mr. Jinnah has a number of legends attached to him. People say he has two hundred Savile Rowe suits with him and four hundred cuff links.

He is a vehement smoker—his brand is invariably Abdullah cigarettes even though he smokes well-perfumed cigars for a change. Though not stiff-necked, he has a special liking for stiff-collars. He wears no glasses but when necessary he sports a monocle which adds to his grace and poise. He is accessible to almost everyone, himself goes down to the visitor to greet him with a smile and a warm hand shake. He is a perfect gentleman, and personally the most lovable man, politician par excellence, absolutely free from corruption. Today the critics may call him what they may—and they are one in black-mailing him—but not

engaged throughout. His busy day begins very early in the morning. After a cup of tea, he goes on a brisk walk in his own garden; takes his breakfast at half past nine with his sister. After this he goes to his study and remains there till one—reading various newspapers and the big sheaf of letters he receives.

He reads all his letters, opens them himself as none else is authorized to do so. Replies are dictated to his secretary. Letters with 'bearing' or with insufficient stamps are returned to the sender.

At one in the afternoon, he has his lunch and then goes in for short nap for about an hour.

In the evenings he meets friends in his own garden if he has no out-door engagement. After supper, he again looks into the correspondence received by the evening mail and is busy, studying an economic scheme or poring over a plan. A thousand problems engage his attention. He studies them and solves them all alone—there is no other leader in the League, of the position of Mr. Jinnah, who can share a fraction of his burdens or relieve a part of his responsibilities. These important and vital issues keep him busy and it is never before midnight that the light is switched off.

He has a big and well-furnished library, which is full of books on politics and law. In spite of the multifarious activities, he snatches time even now for reading. This taste for books was, in fact, acquired when he was a lad.

in the distant future, they will agree with him and with the cause he espouses. He is the living symbol of Muslim aspirations, their champion, their advocate. Few can rival him in his independence of judgement and frankness of convictions. He has not bent his head low before any other leader. No Indian political leader, nor any from the Muslim nation, ever had the good fortune of adding Mr. Jinnah to the rank of his followers. He is a lone figure in Indian politics—but how wonderfully he leads the masses without being one of them! To come across the best embodiment of Indian freedom, to get at the man whom corruption has not touched, whom official honours have not defiled, and who has the unique reputation of being the most clear-headed politician, you must meet Mr. Jinnah.

